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ABSTRACT

This document presents eight papers concerned with major problems facing the teaching profession and critiques of each paper by selected leaders in each specialized area. The topics covered include: the reconstruction of teacher education and professional growth programs; the expansion of the roles of laboratory schools; a review of certification and alternative suggestions; the accreditation of teacher education institutions and agencies; the meaning and application of performance criteria in staff development; the meaning and application of differentiated staffing; the need for responsibility and accountability; and the movement toward teacher autonomy in Canada. (MJM)

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Unfinished Business Of the Teaching Profession In the 1970's

T. M. Stinnett

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Phi Delta Kappa

MAY 6 1971

**Unfinished Business of
The Teaching Profession
In the 1970's**

ERIC GORE, ROBERT FOLKERTS, AND ROBERT MCGEE

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Unfinished Business Of the Teaching Profession In the 1970's

Edited by T. M. Stinnett

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Phi Delta Kappa
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sponsored by the Phi Delta Kappa Commission
on Strengthening the Teaching Profession,
composed of T. M. Stinnett, chairman;
John Geston; Charles E. Hamilton; Donald
R. Waldrip; Neal Van Hoy; Howard Soule,
(PDK Board Liaison); Maurice Shadley,
(PDK Staff Liaison)*

UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN
THE 1970's
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Preface

Created by the Biennial Council of Phi Delta Kappa in December, 1965, as an ad hoc group, the Commission on Strengthening the Teaching Profession during its five years of existence (1966-1970) completed several major projects. The first was the rewriting and publication of *Teaching: A Career for Men*.

The second major project was an in-depth examination of the problem of teacher dropouts which resulted in the publication of a book, *The Teacher Dropout*, in 1970. In addition, the commission prepared TV, audio, and 16 mm. kinescope tape, of a discussion of all aspects of the problem by the symposium of writers, for the use of PDK chapters in conferences on the subject.

The present project, *Unfinished Business of the Teaching Profession in the 1970's*, was presented first as a symposium in a special issue of the *Phi Delta Kappan* (September, 1970). The papers in that symposium are published in this volume and include, in addition, a critique of each of the eight papers by selected leaders in each specialized area.

The purpose of the commission in the project was to set forth viewpoints regarding some of the major problems facing the teaching profession in this decade, and to stimulate wide discussions among Phi Delta Kappa members and others regarding valid approaches to the solutions of these problems.

The viewpoints set forth in this volume are not intended to reflect official policy of Phi Delta Kappa, but only points of view, solicited by the commission, which might, in time, result in some degree of consensus.

The commission is indebted to the writers of these papers, to the writers of the critiques, to Executive Secretary Emeritus Maynard Bemis, and to Editors Stanley Elam and Donald W. Robinson for their wise and valuable assistance in the development of the project.

November, 1970

T. M. Stinnett, Chairman
Commission on Strengthening the
Teaching Profession

Reordering Goals and Roles: An Introduction

By T. M. Stinnett

The basic thrust of the symposium, "Unfinished Business of the Teaching Profession in the 1970's," is twofold.

First, how can the teaching profession deal with erosion in the quality of public education?

Second, how can the teaching profession achieve a greater degree of autonomy in the management of its affairs?

No attempt is made in this introduction to define "the teaching profession" precisely. In general, the phrase alludes to practitioners in the public schools. This limitation is regrettable, but it is a fact of life. Teachers in higher education tend to disassociate themselves from public school practitioners. There is separatism even among the specialties in the lower schools. The plural in the title of the Education Professions Development Act reflects this diversity.

Such status schisms exist in few if any other professions. Although every profession has a multitude of specializations, the practitioners manage to be associated together and to operate in a unified manner. Are public school practitioners to acquiesce meekly to these status differences — a condition that means, among other things, preparation of members of the teaching profession by members of other professions?

Both education and the teaching profession are in a serious state of disarray. The decade of the 70's will bring more turmoil. Any thoughtful observer of the current education scene in the United States is bound to be disturbed by two discernible trends.

One trend is the ferment in education — the frantic search for innovations accompanied by attempts to bring order out of chaos. The second trend involves the adverse impact on the teaching profession of criticism from many sources.

Public school criticism has reached such proportions as to elicit predictions of utter collapse and at least partial abandonment of the public schools.

There is no denying the seriousness of the situation. To many critics, the problems of the inner-city schools appear insoluble. Discipline problems have reached alarming proportions. Mounting disorder, disruption, and violence in the high schools have bred proposals that compulsory attendance laws be repealed, at least for youngsters who have finished elementary school.

Inability of the public schools to adjust quickly to the need for a changed curriculum and new procedures, plus the need for more effective teaching and learning processes, encourage those who contend that the public schools are failing. Some critics say that the quality of education in the public schools is deteriorating so rapidly that other options must be provided. Thus there are moves to establish more private schools as an escape valve for parents who feel that their children are being shortchanged in the public schools. This trend, certainly, will tend to escalate movements for state support of nonpublic schools. Already at least four states (Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Connecticut) have made appropriations for salary and other payments to teachers in parochial schools. (These moves have been sustained by the courts in Pennsylvania and overturned in a test case in Maine.) In addition, there are laws providing some form of aid to parochial schools in 23 other states; and a drive is on for direct public aid in about half the states. Another proposal which will undoubtedly give momentum to the movement to establish nonpublic schools is the voucher plan, which is being offered in various forms. The common feature is a voucher issued to parents by the government to pay education costs in the schools of their choice.

The thesis being developed is that it is constitutional for states to buy public services from private institutions. There are many precedents in higher education. For example, as early as 1659, Harvard received grants from the Massachusetts General Court. The thesis will eventually be tested in the U.S. Supreme Court. Whatever the outcome there, expansion in the number of private schools will probably continue.

Still another factor in widespread discontent with the public school is a series of court decisions, based on the Bill of Rights and other amendments to the Constitution, establishing the rights of students.

These decisions have convinced many parents that certain time-honored controls embodied in the *in loco parentis* principle have been effectively destroyed. They believe it is now virtually impossible for teachers and administrators to maintain the measure of discipline essential to quality instruction and learning. It may of course be argued that this is not so, that the public schools need only to adapt to the

new interpretations of student rights. In any case, the generation gap is involved here. Parents, having grown up under the traditional notion of what constitutes order and proper discipline in the public schools, have difficulty in adapting to the new interpretations. They prefer to blame the public schools for the new order of things; and they tend to seek recourse in private schools where, it is assumed, the old authoritarian order can be maintained. But can it? Will not the courts, in time, apply the same rulings to nonpublic schools? This seems especially likely if nonpublic schools receive tax support.

Disarray in the Profession

Former U.S. Commissioner James E. Allen recently warned a group of educators that the public school establishment is being elbowed out of the educational mainstream by performance-minded industry and government, dissatisfied parents and students, and educational TV producers. He asserted that there was a very real possibility that leadership and decision making in education could be taken out of the hands of educators if they fail to spearhead needed changes.

There is little question that shifts in the education power structure are under way. It cannot be predicted with any degree of certainty what structure, what groups or combination of groups, will become predominant. We can be certain that the Nixon Administration will vigorously emphasize performance and accountability, either for the purpose of demonstrating efficiency in education or as an excuse for putting the brakes on increases in school expenditures. Administration sloganizing will have great appeal and the profession may well be intimidated by it.

Can the Teaching Profession Survive?

One of the basic marks of a profession, at least in the United States, is that it is largely autonomous. In some professions, particularly the private ones, controls are vested in the profession by legislative enactments. In others, controls are assumed through informal, quasi-legal cooperative arrangements among the practitioners, the preparing institutions, and state authorities. In still other professions, such as teaching in the public schools, the arrangement is a basically legal responsibility of the respective states, with the profession having broad advisory powers. Some professional organizations supplement the legal license by membership requirements that, in effect, certify to competence in areas of specialization.

Generally, autonomy for a profession consists of control over accreditation, through determining the standards of preparation; licensure, through setting of requirements to undergird the preparation; continuance in practice, through measurement of performance and professional growth; and disciplining, through developing and enforcing codes of ethics.

During the decade 1950-1960, educators moved vigorously to develop standards cooperatively, involving all segments of the profession. There was constant and cooperative study and refinement of teacher education programs. There was cooperative development and widespread acceptance of a national professional accrediting agency for teacher education. State certification procedures were refined. A "Code of Ethics for the Education Profession" was cooperatively developed and widely accepted.

The profession appeared to be on the way to an unprecedented degree of self-determinism.

Then came the 1960's. For the first time in the United States, teachers took strong collective action to gain welfare benefits and significant roles in school policy making. This decade saw a deterioration in the so-called partnership approach between teachers and administrators. The repercussions were felt throughout the structure of teachers' professional organizations.

Moreover, this was the decade of an awakening national conscience. The public was made painfully aware of the plight of certain minority groups and their neglected children. Inadequacies of public school curricula and teaching were exposed. Exposed also was the obsolescence of much of teacher education, at least insofar as minority group children were concerned.

Colleges and universities are now reaping their fair share of criticism for their failure to prepare teachers to function effectively in large inner-city schools among children of minority cultures.

These developments raise the serious question of the restructuring of teacher education. Can higher education institutions change their programs quickly enough, and appropriately enough, to survive current criticism? William Kottmeyer, superintendent of St. Louis schools, has proposed that the large cities establish or reestablish their own teachers colleges.¹ Already, some big cities have developed their own teacher preparation programs, taking liberal arts graduates for one-year internships and professional orientation.

Out of all this ferment arises the larger question: Can the teaching profession survive as it is? If it can, will it be elbowed out of any control over standards for admission, preparation, licensure, profes-

al growth, and continuance in practice? There is cause for apprehension that teachers in the public schools will become merely technicians.

Disarray in Public Relations

There are signs of a public revolt against the teaching profession. There are demands for assessment of performance. There is a growing trend to vote down school bond proposals and even school levies. There is also strong agitation to repeal legislation providing tenure and other forms of job security. There are pressures to apply performance criteria to teachers as a prerequisite to continuing certification and service. These, I assume, arise in part from public anger stirred up by the profession's insistence upon collective negotiations and the right to strike, legally or illegally.

The recent upsurge in voter rejection of proposed tax increases for school purposes is particularly painful evidence of deterioration in the schools' relations with the public. In Ohio, such voter action has forced several districts to shorten terms or to close schools for a month or more. In Los Angeles and Houston, voters have forced cutbacks in school services. In the spring of 1969, voters turned down school budgets in 137 of New York State's 700 districts. This rejection rate, nearly 20%, was the highest in the state's history. In Long Island more than 40% of the districts' budgets were rejected.

How does one account for these new negative attitudes? In this country, throughout our history, we have believed that every American was endowed by birth with a passport to the possible. As De Toqueville wrote more than a century ago, "To the American everything is possible. What he has not yet accomplished is only that which he has not attempted."

Something has gone sadly awry. On every hand the quality of life is diminished by blight, pollution, noise, and overcrowding. Our streams are fouled, our soils eroded, our forests cut down, our traffic snarled. As one quipster put it, "Not only is there no God, but try getting a plumber on weekends."

Man may walk on the moon in safety and security, but not on the streets and in the parks of our big cities. There is hunger in the midst of plenty; poverty abrades the nation's conscience. Riots, violence, pickets, marches, and dissent mar our days and our nights. We seem suddenly to have come upon visions of our limitations; earlier visions of better tomorrows seem now obscured or jaded. The infinity of our powers and possibilities seems, at least momentarily, to be giving way to frustration. We despair that there are no more mountains to climb,

no more rivers to cross, no more virgin forests to devastate. Above all, we have lost our identity in the anonymity of the mob. The individual is only a number in the soulless conscience of an error-prone computer.

Chaos in the Cities

The much-ballyhooed American goal of uninterrupted, eternal growth — in GNP, in even bigger cars, in income, in larger cities, in population — is proving to be a delusion. The price of bigness is too big to pay. Our cities are becoming unlivable and ungovernable. Population growth, already outrunning our natural resources, is still climbing dangerously. We can no longer believe in the gospel of growth. Faith in the miracles of technology has sustained our giddiness. But technology cannot defy the limitations of nature. For every technological advance there have been corresponding adverse effects — fouled air, polluted waters, impossible transportation problems.

The boasted efficiency of business is crumbling under the overload. The telephone system in New York City and elsewhere is a shambles, the overburdened and inefficient postal service little better than the pony express. Power failures are becoming epidemic; brown-outs, lowered voltage, and blackouts chase one another across the land at dangerous speeds. Even the power companies in many of the big cities are pleading with customers not to install new air conditioning equipment.

The cliché of the business community ("If business were run like schools, there would be no business") now has a hollow ring. It may be that schools must turn away from both the bigness and the "efficiency" of business. There is a point in school size beyond which the quality of education deteriorates rapidly. There is a practical limit to the value of technology in teaching and learning.

All these emerging elements put together seem to foretell still greater turbulence for public schools and teachers in the 1970's.

What directions must the profession pursue in the coming decade?

This is the major query of "Unfinished Business of the Teaching Profession," theme of the ensuing symposium. We have dealt with eight major topics, as listed in the Table of Contents.

The articles published here are position papers for the PDK Commission on Strengthening the Teaching Profession. They are not official positions of Phi Delta Kappa. The commission's intent is to encourage the membership of Phi Delta Kappa and members of other professional organizations to look critically and responsibly at the state

of public education and the teaching profession and to arrive at a degree of consensus during the 1970's.

The commission gratefully acknowledges the indispensable assistance of *Kappan* editors Stanley Elam and Donald Robinson for their encouragement of the project, for their willingness to publish the papers in the *Kappan*, and for arranging to secure the critical comments which will strengthen the book and, hopefully, make it a better consensus statement.



Reconstruction of Teacher Education and Professional Growth Programs

(Or How the Third Little Pig Escaped the Wolf)

By Dwight W. Allen and Glenn W. Hawkes

One of the lessons taught by the story of the three little pigs is that the first and second little pigs were powerless in the face of evil — the wolf — because they refused to stop their fooling around and get down to serious business. The third pig, however, did not fool like his brothers; he took life seriously, determined his goals and the best means for achieving them, and marched on into a successful future. (It's a well-known fact that the third little pig is Ben Franklin in disguise.) As educators, most of us worship at the door of the third pig. We set high standards, develop clear plans, and construct our houses in hopes that they will withstand the onslaught of those big bad wolves that today seem to be in no short supply. And here we are once again, marching along in hopes of constructing, or reconstructing, as the case might be, our various educational programs.

Perhaps we should begin our task by admitting the extent to which we identify with the puritanical image of our mentor, the third little pig. We are deeply committed to his hard work, "early to bed, early to rise" philosophy (although few of us are so presumptuous as to think that we are "healthy, wealthy, and wise"). Our schools are full of third-pig-like people. Teachers generally are filled with hate and fear when students are playful, especially when that playfulness is tinted with sexuality; and nothing brings the principal to the door of a classroom quicker than the sounds of laughter or song, or other first-pig-like activities. Indeed, we train our professionals in the Wigglesworthian art of grimness: "Don't start out too easy; you can always loosen up later, after they know who is boss!" Keeping busy is viewed as a virtue ("Idle hands. . ."); if students finish their work in

... Seriousness seeks to exclude play, whereas play can very well include seriousness.

— J. Huizinga

*The first little pig liked to jig,
The second little pig hopped,
skipped, and jumped. And
the third little pig marched
briskly.*

sdom understood as *re*-creation and for that reason is generally viewed as an after-school phenomenon.) Thus the training of teachers, administrators, and other professionals is construed as a very, very serious task, and the results are evident in the large numbers of "deadly" serious educators that we have processed.

*All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy –
All play and no work makes Jack a mere toy.
"English Proverbs" (1669)*

Please do not misunderstand us. Our concern here is not to debunk our hero – we have no desire to oust the third pig from his leadership position in American education. However, we do want to take a more careful look at his behavior in order that we can better understand exactly what factors in his behavior contributed to his success. Let's consider for a moment the actions of the third little pig as the drama of the final act was unfolding. When the wolf – frustrated by the failure of his huffing and puffing tactic – suggested to the third pig that they should meet the following morning at six o'clock to pick turnips, the pig played a little game with the wolf, knowing full well that he would

beat the wolf by getting up earlier and going and returning before the wolf discovered what happened. We have usually interpreted this incident as an "early to bed, early to rise" lesson, yet with a little imagination we ought to see that the

little pig was chuckling to himself as he told the wolf that he would meet him at six o'clock. He was playing mental games with the wolf.

*Except, of course, in classrooms operated by shrewd private contractors for profit. (See Stanley Elam's "The Age of Accountability Dawns in Texarkana," *Phi Delta Kappan*, June, 1970, pp. 509-14.)

having learned well from his brothers the rewards and pleasures of occasionally hopping, skipping, jumping, and jiggling. It is a mistake to think of the first two pigs as being destroyed by the wolf — it is more accurate to think of them as having been incorporated into (integrated within) the personality of the third little pig.

This point is dramatically confirmed in the final scene, when it seemed that the wolf was about to make pork chops of our fat little friend. You may recall that in returning from the fair — to which the little pig had gone, again at a time earlier than agreed upon with the wolf — the pig found the wolf breathing down his back, at which time the pig was forced to jump into the butter churn, roll down the

hill, and crash willy-nilly into his own house, where he found safety at last, only narrowly escaping sure death in the sharp teeth of his fast-running adversary. It is crucial to understand that the little pig stopped running (which represented an accelerated marching behavior). His old patterns of behavior were inadequate to the dangers at hand; the crisis was so overwhelming that there was little time to plan ahead. The leap into the butter churn was impulsive; the outcome was at best uncertain. All the little pig knew was that the wolf was getting closer and closer, and that it was time to risk a new mode of behavior. Contrary to our traditional interpretation, the third little pig was, indeed, most playful. He had integrated work with play, and consequently lived to see a new day.

Human beings today are in the position of the third little pig returning from the fair. We have entered into the drama of what could very well be an apocalyptic final act. The wolf breathes down our collective back; evidence of his presence abounds (although the evidence is often silent, like the strontium 90 that eats slowly at your bones as you read this article). Only a confirmed ostrich would deny that which is so obvious — if not by “fire,” then it looks like “ice,” but in either case the future ain’t too promising! (Perhaps the greatest danger is that we will adjust to the insanity around us and accept it as normal.) In this context we must

*... dost thou love life, then
do not squander Time, for
that's the Stuff Life is made
of, as Poor Richard says...
the sleeping Fox catches no
Poultry.*

— Ben Franklin

My advice in the midst of the seriousness is to keep an eye out for the tinker shuffle, the flying of kites, and kindred sources of surprised amusement.

— Jerome Bruner

The probability of mankind's committing suicide by homicide is enormous: but it is not taken seriously... America is becoming a breeding ground of killers — preparing a climate of feeling conducive to the pressing of buttons that will terminate all joy, if not all life on earth.

— Henry A. Murray

it's the playful, churning, side-splitting risk that saves lives. Those educators who are taking the most irresponsible risks with our lives and the lives of our children are those educators who are taking no risks at all.

allow ourselves every opportunity to play; we must question those who continually tell us to march or run. We have been marching and running for some time now, and we have gotten nowhere. Like our hero we must risk breaking with patterns of the tried and true. This is not to say that there is no value in having a strong house with lots of firmly placed bricks — we still need the Three R's — but we must be willing to get outside of our houses, of ourselves, go to the fair, acquire a few butter churns, and jump into those churns when the chips are down. As much as the strong house.

Butter Churns

*... whee. Sal, we gotta go and never stop til we get there.
Where we going, man?
I don't know but we gotta go.*

— Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* (1957)

We offer no comprehensive plan for the reconstruction of professional programs in education; one can plan to teach and learn how to play, but one cannot know in advance the way(s) in which that teaching and learning will manifest themselves in behavior. (The third little pig did not practice jumping into butter churns.) Many of the "churns" that follow are intended to joggle the mind with respect to traditional expectations about the nature of programs for the professional training of educators. We think that one major problem with our profession is that too many of us have allowed our thoughts and actions to be "locked in" by past and present expectations about such programs. The system itself must be jogged a bit, perhaps quite a bit, if we are to get the upper hand on the wolf.

A Lever for Change

or

"The wolf's problem was that he relied solely on the tried and true!"

Too often we define education by very formal processes, insinuating that these processes are logical, rational, and predictable. But change in education is not a logical, predictable process at all — rather, it is often a totally fortuitous phenomenon. It is whimsical when a sputnik arrives in the sky and curriculum in American education takes a dramatic turn — whimsical in the sense that had we gotten our satellite up three months sooner there would have been no fuss.

The amount of change in American education since 1900 has been minimal. We have a monolithic school system which proceeds from a standard set of assumptions and we have no alternative perceptions on these assumptions. We have viewed experimentation and innovation as untenable unless we could guarantee success at the outset. Of course an experiment that is sure to succeed is really no experiment. We must be bold enough not only to recognize the validity of change but bold enough to accept initial failure of an innovative idea. Once we realize the validity of change, and educate school administrations, staffs, and boards to this recognition, we will be able to implement several levers of change that differ from both the formalistic designs for change and the current popular strategies.

During this process our commitment must be open-ended. We must recognize, as the third pig did, the necessity at times for a departure from the norm. The open-ended commitment implies a willingness to go to the fair without necessarily knowing what one wants, or whether one wants anything at all, for that matter. In this respect a major lever for change might be to set aside a certain percentage of financial and personal resources for ad hoc experimentation and innovation. If 10% of an institution's resources were postmarked for "the unexpected," with some kind of democratic arrangement for administering those resources, we might indeed see some interesting results.

Open File

or

"Why didn't the third pig tell his brothers what they were doing wrong?"

One of the least democratic of modern inventions is the confidential file, or personal record, as it is sometimes called. Theoretically, the idea of holding confidential the information we have about students is justified as a means of protecting them from being embarrassed, or

perhaps from being personally harmed. In practice, however, confidential information usually serves as a device for promoting and preserving the power of those who are in power. The very nature of the system would seem to militate against the objective of open and honest dialogue between open and honest people. In subtle yet far-reaching ways, the system of confidentiality which permeates education from K through post-doctoral research — and which permeates relations between teachers and administrators as well — teaches a good lesson in intrigue, secrecy, and authoritarianism, rather than a lesson in democratic interaction. At the University of Massachusetts we have been experimenting with an open-file permanent record system. While the results are far from conclusive, the opportunity for openness and honesty is a refreshing change of pace from the usual record-keeping placement procedures in an educational system. Professors and administrators are free to submit whatever information they deem important, whether positive or negative, and students are free to submit their reactions. (They may submit whatever they think is relevant to their permanent record/placement file, such as important papers, works of art, etc.) Toward the end of a student's program, an abstract of the contents of the file is prepared.

Education at all levels might be enhanced by this kind of open records system. Certainly the possibility is worth careful consideration. Various recent studies have suggested the extent to which most Americans readily submit to the demands of people in positions of authority, regardless of the nature and legitimacy of such demands. Present trends suggest that American society is becoming rather more closed and authoritarian (not to mention repressive) than in years past. Pressures in this direction certainly exist on both ends of the political spectrum. As a device in the training of professionals for education, the system of an "open file" might be one experience which could in turn be instituted up and down the educational ladder. Who knows, the effects might someday even have some transfer impact on industry and government, where the evils of unnecessary confidentiality are even more evident than they are in education.

Shadowing

or

"Do you hear those footsteps and all that huffing and puffing?"

A student of presidential politics would probably learn more about his field by "shadowing" a president during his term of office than he could learn by reading all of the books that have been written on the

subject. Certainly a good dose of shadowing would be constructive in his learning experience. In some areas of educational training – especially administration - provisions are made for experiences of this kind. The doctoral student who serves as an assistant to a teacher or administrator is probably learning more from just being around his mentor than he is learning from any formal study connected with the assistantship. Shadowing is an extension and deepening of the internship idea – it entails spending long hours in the company of individuals who possess knowledge, skills, and attitudes that are worthy of examination in some depth by the trainee. While there are no specific formulae for the shadowing concept, one possibility might be to select five or 10 people to shadow for two or three weeks each during a semester. Several students could arrange to switch off at various intervals and occasionally meet to compare notes. Rather than take courses, students would take individuals. ("Who have you got this semester?" "Well, let's see. I've got Jones first, then McDonald, Sams, Washington, and Trask. Who have you got?") Credits for taking people could be administered just as credits are given for taking courses. This process could provide very interesting feedback for teachers and administrators.

Teacher Differentiation

or

"Why didn't the first two pigs hire a mason?"

Teacher education has marched on oblivious to new definitions of the roles of teachers. We have been content to treat teachers like interchangeable parts. For instance, suppose we have three third-grade teachers whom we assign "Russian roulette" style, pretending that all the kids will get an equally well-taught third grade. You and I know that this simply is not going to be the case. Teachers are not interchangeable parts.

One of the ways to restructure teacher education is to redefine the expectations of the various roles or, putting it more humanistically, start with people and discover and pursue what they can do well as teachers. Successful staff differentiation will depend upon the delineation and definition of various teaching responsibilities along with the criteria for determining different staffing assignments. Requirements under a differentiated staffing program are very different from the requirements under a traditional program where a decision is simply made on a monolithic criterion of whether or not a person is qualified to serve as a teacher. This means that there is a greater pressure placed

on teacher education institutions to define and to redefine these criteria for service and to match personnel with assignments and tasks expected.

We should differentiate the instructional staff not only along the disciplinary lines but also in such specializations as technology, instructional processes, and delineation of teaching skills. Staff differentiation must include both horizontal differentiation (specialization) and vertical differentiation (hierarchical distinctions of responsibility and compensation.) Promotion must be divorced from time and degrees, and senior teaching roles defined to parallel status with the most senior of administrative and higher education positions. Not only must teacher education programs be adjusted to individual teacher role preparation, but they must train paraprofessionals to handle many of the jobs that now fail to utilize a teacher's time economically and can be performed by assistants at perhaps one-third of the cost. The acceptance of specialists in teacher service has profound implications for the way in which educational personnel will be prepared and the programs that will be required. Such differentiation should also extend to the teacher education staffs.

New Personnel Sources for Teaching

or

"Little pig, come here. I'd like you to meet the Cat in the Hat."

The differentiation of a teaching staff is presently a never-never land in the sense that no one knows exactly how a school staff should be reorganized. Basically, there are two areas of differentiation. One area is concerned with differentiation of the support staff and the other with differentiation of teaching roles.

Support personnel can free the teacher to concentrate on his teaching responsibility. Secretarial support can free teachers from office work and administrative tasks. Nonprofessional monitors can free teachers from nonproductive guardian roles and disciplinary responsibilities.

We recognize the validity of noncredentialed abilities. Too often we hide behind the mask of credentialism to the detriment of both the learning process and the student. For instance, the non-teacher teacher from the community who may be a doctor, mason, or policeman can be an invaluable addition to the classroom as an effective instructor. To reject this resource potential because extra school personnel may be available only part-time or because they pose a threat to the professional is untenable. Part-time assistance can be successfully

integrated within the structure of a school. No real threat exists for the professional, since he will still be needed to identify, coordinate, refine, and assist other staff members.

We essentially have a choice between excellence and mediocrity. Let us not continue to ignore the excellent staff support that is available at our request. In fact, we must encourage community participation in our schools at all levels, as well as carefully provide the opportunity for our paraprofessionals to improve and become fully professional.

The Credit Module as a Unit for Teacher Education
or

"Big houses are made with little bricks."

By dividing conventional semester units into smaller units, or credit modules,* it is possible to create a diversity of choice in curriculum previously not enjoyed by the student. There are two important advantages in this revised structure for credit. First of all, it allows for credit in smaller units. Secondly, it encourages decision making in other than even semester units. A typical education program is between 20 and 30 semester units or between seven and 10 courses – each typically three units. Decisions are either to have or not to have educational psychology, educational sociology, various kinds of methods, survey, and developmental courses. Instead, by using credit modules, you can have experiences which may start and end at different times, in different intensities, and in different configurations. A 20-unit teacher education program in credit modules would be 300 credit modules of credit giving you up to 300 decisions about components for a teacher education program rather than 20 units, typically seven decisions, and seven three-unit courses.

The first advantage of breaking out of the regimentation of offering standard courses for teacher education is a sense of previously unknown freedom. Suddenly we have an opportunity to present truly individualized alternatives in exciting new ways. One of the ways this is done at the University of Massachusetts is in Modular Credit Week, where various faculty, students, and visitors present individual or multiple modules of educational interest concentrated during a week when regular courses are suspended. The advantages of the school are on display, with the entire community presenting important topics, and from among these an individual student can select topics that are most

*Arbitrarily, 15 credit modules are defined to equal one semester unit of credit in the University of Massachusetts' application.

immediately important to him and his educational pursuit. The student is also able to "sample" a wide range of faculty with low investment — identifying people and ideas which he wishes to follow up more intensely. Another possibility is a Modular Methods Week which could be created as an alternative to the disliked, often-criticized methods courses. Here each member of the school of education faculty, doctoral students, and cooperating teachers could present their single most powerful, most successful, most enjoyable teaching method.

Education on the Road

or

"Butter churns in search of pigs."

Man has always been a restless creature, scurrying about and seeking to extend control over dimensions of space and time. During this century, the revolution in transportation and communication (which includes the capacity to transport and communicate "messages" of death) has dramatically transformed the face of our planet. It is trite to talk about the nature and depth of this change. Suffice it to say that the thinking of Fuller and McLuhan is much more fact than fiction. Unfortunately, formal learning experiences seldom reflect the many ways in which we have been swept into a new world of time/space relations. Is it any surprise that students feel "fenced in"?

Perhaps one of the reasons for the increasingly destructive experimentation with drugs is that they offer to young people — and especially adolescents who are faced with massive changes in their physical bodies along with the changes in the larger Human Body — a way of experimenting in new time/space relationships. It is no accident that many drugs are called by names that suggest "highs" and "lows," "ups" and "downs," "trips," and other kinds of acceleration and mobility (as with "speed"). With this in mind, teachers and other professionals should be trained to develop objectives and programs that will provide young people with healthy opportunities for playing in the new time/space environment. This might mean learning how to operate a two-way radio, or utilizing telephones and TV in achieving social studies objectives, or perhaps arranging to make the local theater a dimension of the curriculum. In this respect, the media of communication could be explored and exploited for educational ends.

But more than this, being "on the road" is a crucial element for consideration in the training of professionals for education. Teachers and administrators should be trained to set up travel seminars (and not just token exchanges or summer trips, which usually fall into the

"extra" category); to arrange for exchanges related to athletic contests (like planning a whole curriculum around the Spanish language and culture, and then perhaps taking the soccer team to Spain or Latin America for a semester of enjoyable learning); or to explore a city through the vehicle of a school without walls (as in the Philadelphia Parkway Project).

Training professionals to involve themselves in "on the road" education will require more than reading *The Medium Is the Message*; such training will require getting involved in the process itself. Schools of education might develop programs which require students to be on the road during a semester or year of their preparation. Students might learn more about human nature, about themselves as individuals, and about the society and world in which they live by hitchhiking than by exploring the same issues in a graduate seminar.* It might at least be worth the effort to investigate, experiment with, and evaluate some of the educational possibilities in this neglected area.

Content, Process, and Technology

or

"Why the third little pig bought an electric butter churn."

The old argument about process versus content in education is a bad argument. Process is meaningless in the absence of content, and content is possible only in relation to processes of absorbing, discovering, analyzing, synthesizing, etc. The substance of education — both process and content — can be easily outdated, especially as new means for storing and retrieving information are invented. For centuries books have been the repositories of information, and because books remained relatively inaccessible, a high premium was placed on the process of human memorization and recall in relation to the content of books. Today there are rich and ready sources of information which do not require the traditional emphasis on books and brains.

Computers, of course, are a major medium for information storage and retrieval, but, unfortunately, educators have not yet learned to treat them (and all that they symbolize in terms of new media) as they should be treated, in their proper place. We remain basically suspicious of the new technology, thus becoming part of an unnecessary "two cultures" self-fulfilling prophecy. We think and act in relation to the

*Jon Ball, a University of Massachusetts doctoral student in education, attributes more of his learning to hitchhiking than to formal course work. He teaches a mini-course entitled, "Hitchhiking and Human Nature," most of which takes place on the road.

computer as if it were some kind of personal foe. We say "the computer sent me an inaccurate bill last month," or "look at the mistake that the computer made," and because we do not see the computer in its place, as a tool of human invention for human use, we resist bringing it into our educational process, except in the most peripheral ways, like keeping attendance records. We think of the typewriter as a tool, and we utilize it; we do not say "my typewriter typed an unsatisfactory letter," rather, we say "I made a mistake in typing the letter."

As a first step, then, in catching up with — not to mention getting ahead of — the technology of our times, we must ask ourselves how we define that technology, and ourselves in relation to it. (Any teacher or administrator who thinks that he or she can be replaced by a machine should be!) Programs for the professional training of educators must provide sufficient exposure for understanding and utilizing new technology in order to stimulate a new confidence in the power of human control in relation to that technology. The fear of technology is self-perpetuated by teachers who fear it and in turn communicate this fear to young children in early stages of their education. New generations of teachers comfortable with the use of technology will be better able to transmit to students the matter-of-factness of an increasing complexity of technological wonder which will most certainly characterize our world in the future.

The present substance of education, which is mostly books and memorization, is certainly not obsolete. (Some studies suggest the necessity for children at certain ages to learn "facts," commit them to memory, etc.) But this does not mean that we can continue to treat the computer and related media as irrelevant, or, even worse, as "the enemy." If we do, then the computer will indeed become a weapon in the hands of dangerous people.

An Assault on Racism

or

"*Why is the wolf always colored black or brown?*"

America is a racist society. It has been since the arrival of the European on this continent. (The very fact that many Americans would perceive this claim as untrue or exaggerated in no way invalidates it.) We are a sick people in this respect, and the disease is widespread; unlike those infected by it, it is not localized by lines of color.

Racism and its evils cannot be dealt with on a second- or third-hand basis, nor can it be dealt with in an atmosphere of moralistic and missionary zeal, nor can it be dealt with by simple formulae which

quickly become gimmicks for avoiding the issue. We have all been witnesses to the bankruptcy of these approaches.

What can be done? Rather than try to suggest some sweeping solution, perhaps educators can begin by simply recognizing the extent to which racism is in fact a major educational issue. In behavioral terms this might mean establishing commissions* on racism in institutions where we train our professionals. Professional trainees, as well as those doing the training, should be encouraged to involve themselves *directly* in the perplexing problems that permeate American education with respect to matters of racial prejudice. Professors, administrators, students, and members of the community at large could, through such commissions, exert direct and constructive influence where deemed most appropriate. Pressures already exist, of course, but such pressures might prove more powerful in constructive ways if institutional support were marshaled behind them. (Which would mean that students and faculty receive appropriate compensation in terms of credit, remuneration, etc.) A commission might involve itself with various issues and problems, ranging from economic policies of the institution to admissions and academic policy. For example, professionals could be encouraged to consider how language and racism are interrelated, or how children's literature, textbooks, and teaching materials carry the germs of the ugly disease — and what might be done to remedy such educationally debilitating processes.)

Toward a Nonviolent Species

or

"The wolf had a low self-image!"

Unlike the third little pig, the wolf had a rather gloomy picture of reality and of his own role in the nature of things. He thought of himself as a social outcast, and no doubt thought that society had done him wrong. Consequently, a good part of his behavior was undertaken with a chip on his shoulder. In addition, one suspects that when the wolf looked into the mirror he did not especially like what he saw: "I'm ugly. Why did I have to be born a wolf?" Every social psychologist who has studied this problem of the wolf's identity has concluded that his behavior was "ugly" primarily because he had this low self-image.

*LeRoi Ray, a doctoral candidate at the University of Massachusetts School of Education, has suggested that in addition to racism, commissions be established on war, pollution, population control, and other pressing problems that require *direct* attention from educators — that is, if educators hope to have clients in the future.

These studies provide educators with a new proposition about human behavior: *Individuals and groups act in direct relation to the ways that they define and value themselves and their world.* If a person sees himself as a "failure" or as "no good," that person will act accordingly.*

There are many areas of educational concern where this proposition can be utilized effectively to alter present practices which contribute to students' developing "negative pictures." The grading system is especially worth investigating in this respect. But the educational challenge is broader and deeper than this. One of the most frightening facts of our time is that large numbers of educated people have accepted — with little or no critical investigation — a definition of *homo sapiens* as a fundamentally aggressive species. Scientific and historical evidence by no means supports this picture of man, yet many of us believe it. (Just as many of us have come to define man as *apart* from the natural world rather than as *a part of* that world; and we are indeed paying a rather heavy ecological price for that definition.)

Like racism, violence will have to be treated directly in professional growth programs, if education is going to be part of a solution to the problem. Mankind can become a nonviolent species, but not unless we can define ourselves in terms of the possibility. How? Again, there are no easy solutions. We might begin by asking each professional-to-be to read Ashley Montagu's *On Being Human*, for it provides a nice counter-picture to the "killer ape" literature. Education schools could develop commissions to facilitate research, dialogue, and action aimed at giving birth to a new day of nonviolence. In any event, if we do not dream this dream and act on it, the probability of our helping to fulfill a very different kind of prophecy will be increased.

Why Listen to Us?

or

"*Butter churns can have babies!*"

No one has a monopoly on butter churning, and thus one of our suggestions is that educators not take our butter churning too seriously, but rather develop their own stockpile (which should not be taken too seriously either). There is great fame and fortune awaiting all who get into the industry, and if one does not have the necessary first-pig-like playful spirit to develop churning, do as we have done: Steal them.

*See Nella Nnelg's most recent study, *Mrs. Tittlemouse, the Little Engine, and Mr. Wolff: A Study of the Relationship Between Self-Image and Social Behavior*. New York: Spacey Press, 1971.

Students are an excellent source; they are just full of churns of all shapes and sizes.

To be a little more serious for the moment, institutions for the training of teachers might consider establishing special deanships or chairs for the promotion of butter-churning activities; and to fill those positions every effort should be made to find sharp, side-splitting comedians.

Bricks and Mortar

Butter churning — with all of its uncertainties and risks — should not be pursued at the expense of bricks and mortar. It is the integration of work and play which is our goal. There are a number of fairly specific, brick-and-mortar-type issues and questions which should be considered in the professional training of educators. Professor Louis Fischer* has provided a list of brick and mortar items which he deems "necessary to a conception of a fully functioning professional teacher." He has not presented these in any rank order of importance; nor has he intended that they be viewed as comprehensive for every educational context. He has suggested, however, that as a general rule the professional training of teachers should encompass most of these items.

- first-rate liberal education, important to the general enlightenment of the individual, and thus to an enlightened educator;
- knowledge of the sequence of human development from birth to maturity;
- a working understanding of how people learn, of competing psychological theories and their evidence;
- an understanding of principles and methods of educational research — at least to the point of being an intelligent consumer of research findings;
- some in-depth study of the culture (with its values, beliefs, etc.) which education is designed to perpetuate;
- an understanding of important behavioral differences that result from relying on authority, tradition, intuition, "common sense," revelation, or tested experience for knowledge, truth, or values;

*Fischer formerly taught at San Fernando Valley State College and is presently at the University of Massachusetts.

- some understanding of the total range of the curriculum with particular knowledge of an area or age level of specialization;
- knowledge of teaching means, methods, and materials;
- experimentation in working with students in a variety of learning situations under the guidance of experienced professionals;
- experimentation in learning to handle oneself in a number of contexts — with teaching colleagues, administrators, and various members of the lay public, as well as parents and children;
- an acquaintance with a range of journals, newsletters, official publications, and organizations; and
- knowledge of ways and means of gaining further knowledge about subject areas, about children and youth, and about the community — some learning in learning to learn.

True, many teacher education programs have aspired to these goals, but the consensus of those served — teachers — is that most programs have failed. Perhaps one reason for the mediocrity lies in the fact that we have too often accepted and promoted the idea that a clear line can be drawn between work and play. That line can be drawn, of course, but at the expense of, rather than in the service of, knowledge and wisdom; for in the absence of play, work becomes drudgery, and intellectual growth is impeded (as evidenced by the many dulled eyes glued to the clock). Poets and mystics have long watched the third little pig rumble along in his butter churn. To date, however, educators have had some trouble in grasping that part of the story. But let's not run ourselves down too much. There are more butter churns around today than there were yesterday, and there will be even more tomorrow — that is, if we so choose.

Conclusion*

People who play together, stay together.

— N. Nneig

In 1971, when Nella Nneig published her now classic study, *Mrs. Tittlemouse...*, few educators were seriously interested in play. (Indeed, few educators did much playing.) By the mid-Seventies,

*The concluding statement is an excerpt from Professor Neh Nilknarf's *Education in the Seventies*. New York: Post-Avant-Press, 1985.

however, a number of additional studies clearly supported the conclusions at which she had arrived, and educators began to play seriously at the task of recreating educational programs in the spirit of Nnelg's findings. Today, of course, the idea of *homo ludens* so permeates our lives that we seldom think about the learning process without considering its play element. We must take care, however, lest our present convictions harden to dogma and we one day be judged as we now judge most mid-century American educators. An insight from that old madman, Nietzsche, may be a valuable reminder:

A very popular error: having the courage of one's convictions; rather, it is a matter of having the courage for an attack on one's convictions!

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Critique by James C. Stone

The education of teachers -- elementary, secondary, higher -- needs to be changed. There seems to be general agreement on this. At issue is the extent of the needed change -- a minor tune-up, a major overhaul, or should the present vehicle be abandoned and a new one designed to replace it? Whether "repair, reform, or revolution," to use Denemark's phrase,¹ or "reconstruction," to use the Allen-Hawkes term, this is the question and an issue to be dealt with in this response to the Allen-Hawkes piece.

To plump for a new vehicle for the training of teachers instead of repairing or refurbishing the old one sounds like a strange thing for a veteran teacher educator to be saying. As my colleague, Doug Minnes, once put it, "No one likes to point out that the king is naked. If you are the tailor, it is especially difficult."² Yet as the distinguished editor of this volume, Tim Stinnett, well knows, I was calling for the *reconstruction* of teacher education 20 years ago! So in one sense, I applaud the effort of my good friends Allen and Hawkes as a definite and healthy push in the right direction.

A number of their suggestions are creative and intriguing. For example, the notion of shadowing as a training protocol was new to me. (Recently, however, I learned it has been used for many years in nursing education training programs!) We used it successfully in a teacher preparation program in Kenya, Africa, in the summer of 1970 as the initial phase of a professional sequence for preparing American Peace Corps volunteers to be Kenyan secondary school teachers. We assigned each newly arrived American volunteer to shadow an experienced Kenyan teacher for a week. A more effective means of reality practice would be hard to find. Currently I am using shadowing in a graduate seminar on college teaching. Each student chose a teacher -- elementary, secondary, or higher -- to shadow for the first two weeks of the quarter. The experience provided the basis for a series of lively and provocative discussions on what teaching is and what makes for effective teaching.

I applaud the Allen-Hawkes plea for school reforms like horizontal and vertical staffing and the implication that colleges should prepare teachers in terms of these new roles. At the same time, I wondered why they did not see the applicability of these new roles in the staffing of

colleges of education. I applaud their school reforms like the use of paraprofessionals (but again wondered why they saw it only as relevant to "el-hi" education).

I can't disagree with their proposal for 10% of an institution's resources to be earmarked for "ad hoc experimentation and innovation." (However, I hardly see this as the "major lever for change" as they do, and I wonder why only 10%.) I can't disagree with their plea for open files, since students' files really never were confidential (and I say this as a one-time teacher placement officer). Semester modules instead of semester units will provide more flexibility at all levels of education. The idea of "on the move" students and faculties is intriguing. And who today would disagree with Lou Fisher's programmatic characterization of the ideal teacher, or with the idea that teacher educators and the teachers they prepare need to understand and be competent to utilize the "new technology" and be able to deal with racism, confrontation, and violence?

Allen and Hawkes, in their biting criticism of the present, support the need for changes in teacher education and in the schools where teachers teach. With these sentiments of theirs most of us concur:

We think that one major problem with our profession is that too many of us have allowed our thoughts and actions to be "locked in" by past and present expectations about [training] programs. The system itself must be jogged a bit, *perhaps quite a bit* [italics added] if we are to get the upper hand. . . .

Too often we define education by very formal processes, insinuating that these processes are logical, rational, predictable.

The amount of change in American education . . . has been minimal.

The basic weakness of their proposal to reconstruct teacher education is that they go only halfway. They still cling to the university as the training model, as a baby does to his mother's breast. The article assumes that higher education is generally OK — just needs some tinkering with here and there. Their chief target is the "el-hi" school. Only partially does the college become fair game. Allen and Hawkes obviously are reluctant to bite the hand that feeds them! As Clark Kerr stated at the press conference when he presented the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education's report, "The most conservative group in the world about their own affairs is a university faculty, and at the same time they're the most radical about everybody else's business.³

Reconstructing teacher education as a legitimate sphere of activity for liberal arts colleges and universities to engage in even by the Allen-Hawkes prescription is like trying to reconstruct the fossilized remains of a dinosaur. Just as the dinosaur was useful in its day and relevant to its time, so once were collegiate-based teacher education programs. But "time and tide wait for no man," and time has run out for the colleges to get "with it" in teacher training. Clearly the needed reconstruction Allen and Hawkes plead for ("most programs have failed") will need to take place in a new structure. They state, "No one has a monopoly on butter churns — develop your own stockpile." So here goes! Why our plea for teacher training to take place in a new structure and with a new model of control and governance?

Why? In a study for the National NDEA Institute on the Advanced Study of Disadvantaged Youth, we received Q-sort responses from approximately 1,500 teachers (regarding their assessment of the impact of special training programs they had participated in) and we interviewed a 10% random sample of them. When we analyzed our data, this is what we concluded: (Remember these are conclusions after a study of *new, innovative, experimental programs*.)

Like the profession and institution that sponsor it, the process of teacher education is an essentially conservative one, relying for its best efforts on time-tested and proven methods and materials used in common with *some few experimental and innovative ones*.

The effective . . . programs . . . cannot be characterized as dramatic new possibilities for marked improvement over actual ones presently in operation - *no panaceas, no miracles, no brave new world!* The curricula suggested can most properly be regarded as *somewhat new and different ways in which traditional, conventional, experimental, and innovative methods and materials of teacher education can be combined and coordinated in order to provide coherent, continuous, and comprehensive programs. . .*"⁴

Then we drew sketches of the best of several model programs, pondered our results and concluded by saying:

It is our considered judgment, therefore, that the curriculum models we have proposed, whether designed to provide in-service or pre-service training for teachers, . . . can be most efficiently and effectively mounted by an institution that is 1) situated more advantageously in relation to the resources, opportunities, and

problems of local communities and school districts than colleges and universities usually are, and 2) operated more independently from social, economic, and political pressures for particular uses of resources and opportunities and for specific solutions to those problems than local school districts usually are. The institution we regard as most appropriate for the professional education and training for teachers . . . would have the following features: It would 1) provide training centered in the ghetto, the *barrio*, the reservation, and similar neighborhoods; 2) emphasize participation, encountering, confrontation of all persons involved as the basis for the teachers' (or prospective teachers') learning about theories, concepts, principles; 3) be governed by representatives of *all* of the groups providing the necessary resources - the local community, the local school district, the college or university, the trainees themselves, and the profession; and 4) draw its staff from *all* agencies providing the resources, thus employing as teachers of teachers the students, parents, community agency workers, and civic leaders of the local community, as well as the public school teachers and supervisors in the local school district, the faculty and graduate students of colleges and universities, and other professional specialists.⁵

Clues: The issue then became 1) how and where can new and innovative programs of training best be mounted, and 2) under what administrative arrangement is there the best chance of immediate and effective implementation? The clue to the answers to these two questions was discovered in our review of interview findings: "These teachers were convinced that training activities must be planned and conducted *from* and *at* the grass-roots level rather than the district office, or the college, removed as they are from the local school and local community."

The institution which finally emerged from our research as possessing the characteristics identified in our teacher interviews was a multipurpose center. The organization and operation of the multipurpose center was a cooperative and collaborative arrangement between a college or university and a local school district or school. The instructional and administrative staff of the center was drawn from both agencies. The principal activities of the center were conducted in a public school or in a facility immediately adjacent to one, not regularly and exclusively on a college campus. The program of the center included, in addition to other activities, an offering of workshops, seminars, courses, and similar training activities.

The institutional model embodied by the multipurpose centers we studied seems to us to be, in almost every respect but one, worthy of

being exported as is.⁶ *The one respect in which this model can and, in our view, should be improved is in its control and governance.* The governing authority of the centers investigated was either a local school district, a consortium involving a district and a nearby college or university, or a trusteeship including representation from these agencies and local community agencies. We believe the joint-power authority formed to govern the model institution we have in mind can and should provide for more equitable delegation of responsibility and distribution of decision-making functions.

From what we know of the paradigm of change,⁷ of the bureaucracy of the establishment, and of the cement of tradition in which most schools and colleges are mired, it is difficult to see how the center can be the long-term answer for the radical reforms and dramatic changes needed in order to successfully recruit, train, and retrain today's teachers.

All attempts to reform teacher training⁸ have failed to recognize that the social institutions in which teacher education is embedded — the schools, the colleges, state departments of education — were created by society not for the purpose of bringing about change and innovation, but rather for preserving the status quo. As guardians of the establishment, the schools, institutions of higher education, and state regulatory agencies were specifically created to see that change does not take place. The primary function of these educational agencies, in common with education since the days of primitive man, is to pass on the cultural heritage to the upcoming generation. Designed to preserve "what is," they have been staffed largely by those who are wholly committed to this end. Few teachers, for example, see their role as agents of change. The result is that reform efforts have done little to break the patterns of traditional teacher education.

As long as education and its handmaiden, teacher education, remain fixed in the concrete of college, public school, and state department traditions, both likely will remain substantially as they are now, and reform efforts will continue to come and go without making an appreciable impact on either higher education or public education, or on state departments of public instruction where teacher education has its roots.

If we ever hope to break what George Counts, writing some 25 years ago, called "the lock-step in teacher training," we must create new organizational structures; we must be willing to go one step further than modifying the present establishment. We need to cut the ties, plough over the old college-school ruts in which teacher training is quagmired, and begin fresh.

Our summation of the failures of teacher education and its traditional role in society brings to mind the statement by Felix Robb, former president of George Peabody College for Teachers, one of the few remaining teachers colleges still in existence in the United States: "If the successors to teachers colleges become mediocre and abandon their concern for teachers, another generation will have to start teachers colleges all over again."⁹

While not wishing simply to go back as Robb suggests, we do propose a new model that takes something from the past — the idea of a separate social institution for teacher training — while adding several new dimensions crucial for the education of "teachers for the real world": training that is "planned and conducted from and at the grass-roots level" and intimately involves the local school and neighborhood — an agency controlled by the client groups that comprise the local community. We have called this new social institution an EPI — Education Professions Institute.

The EPI would be a separate agency of higher education with a distinct, unique, and differentiated function. The unique purpose would be to provide professional training for teachers-to-be, teacher aides, associate teachers, intern teachers, regular teachers, master teachers, and teachers of teachers through the bachelor's and master's degree. It would recruit adults of all ages from the community in which it was located as well as from the ranks of high school graduates, the junior colleges, four-year colleges, and universities.

The EPI should be viewed as a natural extension of the state's responsibility for teacher education; better stated, it would be a case of the state's returning to itself the responsibility it has always had but has failed to exercise since the end of the teachers colleges. The institute would be accredited by the state for development and experimental purposes. Special and unique licensing provisions might be needed in some states for those completing EPI training. This is not to suggest a lowering of standards, but rather different standards for a different group to accomplish a purpose not now adequately served by any existing social agency.

The EPI would draw its faculty from the communities in which it was located — the local schools, adjacent colleges and universities, and other social, governmental, and industrial agencies. While strictly a professional institution, the EPI might admit prospective teachers and paraprofessionals at any point in their college career when they were deemed ready to embark on a semester of professional education. During any semester of enrollment, the trainees would be paid by the state or the local school, or both, for rendering teaching or community

services of various kinds. This "paid to learn" feature is especially significant in terms of recruiting from minority groups. In-service teachers would enroll in the institute for afternoon or evening workshops and seminars or summer colloquiums, conferences, institutes, sabbaticals, and the like, using scholarships provided by local, state, and federal governments; foundations; the business community; professional associations; and school district sabbatical leaves.

The single most distinguishing feature of the EPI would be that it is a *teaching* institution. Its educational style would be to "learn to teach by teaching," so all trainees would be involved in some form of teaching as the central focus of their learning activities.

The EPI is envisioned as a prestige agency, paying better salaries, for example, to its faculty than do traditional colleges, universities, or school systems. This would be a truly professional school analogous to the medical school, the law school, the divinity school. Its program for the education of teachers of teachers would encompass research focused on professional problems in the teaching-learning process.

There would be equality of status and prestige for those faculty having differentiated responsibilities for the so-called theoretical and practical aspects of teacher training, since any one individual would be expected to be equally involved in both.

The heart of the EPI would be an exemplary school or school system that it would adopt or organize. The institute and the school would be housed together. Professional education would grow out of the instructional problems of children. Laboratory experiences in classrooms and neighborhoods of the disadvantaged would be the central focus of the in-service and pre-service teacher-training program. The professional curriculum would be tailored to each individual and would be so organized that every trainee, during his stay at the institute, would be simultaneously involved in a stream of classroom or community experiences and a concurrent stream of theoretical seminars, both taught and supervised by a team of instructors working with a particular group of trainees. The EPI would have the advantage of being close to the schools, yet removed one step from the politics of local school systems. Though ultimately responsible to the state, it would be characterized by "home rule" from the local community and the trainees themselves. However funded, it would be administered by and for the local community and trainee clientele. The state department of education, the local school district, and adjacent institutions of higher education would have a cooperative and consultative relationship with the institute.

The EPI would be chartered by the state under a joint-powers

agreement. This is a legal entity provided for in most states, but until now seldom used in education circles except in connection with the federally sponsored research and development laboratories. The powers brought together to organize the EPI and to formulate policy for it (within broad state guidelines) would be 1) a local community, 2) the trainees, 3) a college or university, 4) a school system, and 5) the organized profession. These powers would establish an independent local board of control that would have fiscal and administrative authority to operate the EPI. The five powers initially comprising the governing board might appoint additional representatives, including the public-at-large.

The curriculum of the EPI would provide for a number of levels of training for a number of different roles. Thus mothers with the equivalent of a high school education might enter the EPI to become teacher aides; those with junior college preparation to become associate teachers; those with an A.B. degree, intern teachers; and those with teaching credentials, master teachers or teachers of teachers. Movement from one program and role to another would be provided. All would be paid during their period of training, for all would be serving in some capacity in the local school or community.

A local model school would be the "home" of the institute, with the local district supplying a room for seminars and an office for the staff. Academic preparation needed by trainees would be provided by nearby colleges on a contractual or cooperative arrangement. In the vernacular of the times, the EPI would be "where the action is" — in the community. And it would stay there in the sense that it would be controlled in part by the local community.

Since the EPI is the model that emerges from our research findings, we feel obliged to underscore and reiterate the fact that in an EPI the community and its trainees would be active participants in determining their own and their children's education. They clearly would have a stake in it — a piece, perhaps *the* piece, of the action. The growing belief by communities that schools and teacher education institutions no longer are serving ends they believe in is the cause of the increasing demands and increasingly intense confrontations by black, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, and American Indian groups. In an EPI, the community and the trainees would have not only a *voice* but also a *vehicle* for remaking their own education and the education of their children.

No one doubts the difficulty of establishing such a new social institution, especially not those of us who have been "the tailors" (Minnes' term) for so many years of conventional training in traditional

colleges and universities. Yet surely the times demand action, new approaches, radical departures, brave new worlds. Henry David Thoreau once wrote:

Why should we be in such desperate haste to succeed, and in such desperate enterprises? If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music which he hears, however measured or far away.

Let those of us who are committed to a new way to train teachers be given the opportunity to march to a different drummer whom now we hear in ever increasing crescendo.

Alternatives: The opportunity to bring together the resources of "el-hi" schools, colleges of education, and the communities in which they are located, plus the organized profession and state departments of public instruction, in a new social institution for the initial and continuous professional development of teachers now is here. The means are at hand. The federal voucher system proposed by and to be tried experimentally under the auspices of OEO¹ makes the EPI feasible, at least experimentally. Competition, the engine that makes the American free-enterprise system go, is about to invade higher education.

With a voucher in hand, teachers and teachers-to-be will have a choice among several training options: to attend the Denemark "reformed" school of education, the Allen-Hawkes "reconstructed" school, or an EPI. The option that delivers will survive.

¹George Denemark, "Repair, Reform, or Revolution," *Educational Leadership*, March, 1970, pp. 539-43.

²Douglas Minnes, "Rebellion in Teacher Education: Requiem for a Fossil in White Tie and Tails," CASCD conference address, November 21, 1968, p. 2 (mimeographed).

³*San Francisco Chronicle*, November 24, 1970, p. 20.

⁴James C. Stone, *Teachers for the Disadvantaged*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969, p. 188.

⁵*Ibid*', p. 195.

⁶B. Othanel Smith also champions the need for "el-hi" school-college centers, which he calls "training complexes." See *Teachers for the Real World*. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1969, pp. 95-109.

⁷As applied to school curriculum projects, see Mario D. Fantini and Gerald Weinstein, *The Disadvantaged Challenge to Education*. New York: Harper and Row, 1968, pp. 298-300. As applied to innovations in collegiate programs, see

James C. Stone, *Breakthrough in Teacher Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968, pp. 178-80.

⁸There have been many reform efforts. Among the major attempts have been the Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council of Education (1938-46); the NEA TEPS Commission (1946 to date); the Fund for the Advancement of Education (1950-59), the Pre-Collegiate Curriculum Reform Movement (1958-64); the Ford Foundation's "Breakthrough Programs" (1960-66); and NDEA, ESEA, EPDA, and other federal grants (1964 to date).

⁹Henry C. Hill, "Wanted: Professional Teachers," *Atlantic*, May, 1960, p. 39.

¹⁰*Education Vouchers: Financing Education by Grants to Parents - A Preliminary Report*. Prepared under grant CG 8542 for the Office of Economic Opportunity. Cambridge Mass.: Center for the Study of Public Policy, March, 1970.

Expanding Roles of Laboratory Schools

By Madeline Hunter

The last quarter of the twentieth century may well be distinguished by the emergence of the laboratory school as a productive center for educational inquiry, exerting powerful influence upon and shaping public education of the twenty-first century. For this potential to be released, however, the laboratory school must shed its role as a demonstration and training installation inducting novitiates into accepted and traditional practice. It must become a center for inquiry, an essential component of the educational design to produce new theory, to translate that theory into generalizable practice, to disseminate that knowledge and practice into the mainstream of American education, and to develop vigorous leaders.

The genesis for such potential began with the laboratory schools of the past under the leadership of men such as Dewey, who said:

Only the scientific aim, the conduct of a laboratory comparable to other scientific laboratories, can furnish a reason for the maintenance by a university of an elementary school. Such a school is a laboratory of applied psychology. That is, it has a place for the study of mind as manifested and developed in the child, and for the search after materials and agencies that seem most likely to fulfill and further the conditions of normal growth.

It is not a normal school or a department for the training of teachers. It is not a model school. It is not intended to demonstrate any one special idea or doctrine. Its task is the problem of viewing the education of the child in the light of the principles of mental activity and processes of growth made known by modern psychology. The problem by its nature is an infinite one. All that any school can do is to make contributions here and there, and to stand for the necessity of considering education, both theoretically and practically, in this light. This being the end, the school conditions must, of course, agree. To

endeavor to study the process and laws of growth under such artificial conditions as prevent many of the chief facts of child life from showing themselves is an obvious absurdity.¹

However, in spite of leadership and forward-looking programs, laboratory schools have been singularly ineffective in influencing American education. Often the department of education to which those laboratory schools were affiliated persevered with programs and methodologies that reflected little if any of the new ideas or practices in education. Their relationship to the laboratory school was nominal and partial, confined to the area of teacher training and credentials. As recently as 1964, the Kelley report stated the primary function of the majority of laboratory schools to be observation and demonstration of accepted practice and college students' participation in such programs as a pre-teaching experience.²

With public schools able to provide a similar and possibly more valid service at a fraction of the cost, small wonder such laboratory schools have become vestigial organs in the physiology of teacher education, atrophying or being removed from college campuses at an alarming rate.³

Without laboratory schools, however, there remain two major unsolved problems in education. One is the ever-widening gap between knowledge generated by educational research and practice in the classroom. The other problem is the critical need for an experimental laboratory to refine or field-test theory in an environment uncontaminated by the very necessary restrictions imposed on public schools. An installation created for and dedicated to the resolution of these two problems constitutes the *raison d'être* of the laboratory school of the future.

This expanding role of the laboratory school embraces a commitment to change that continually reflects research, experimentation, and inquiry into basic and applied knowledge in education and related fields rather than the more comfortable stability of demonstrating programs and practices already accepted by the profession.

A school which adopts this new role will have as its functions: 1) research, experimentation, and inquiry into the phenomena of education; 2) dissemination of results of such activities; 3) development of leaders in clinical practice; 4) demonstration, observation, and other activities germane to the first three functions.

To accept this expanded role in the educational scheme implies that the laboratory school staff, students, administration, and relationship

to the school of education must all be consonant with the fulfillment of these four major functions. Before the criteria for such consonance can be determined, we will need to examine each function in depth.

Research, Experimentation, Inquiry

Too often in the past, educational philosophers, psychologists, mathematicians, social scientists, and others associated with a department of education have focused primarily on the phenomena of their own disciplines as those phenomena occurred in an educational setting, rather than investigating the contribution their particular discipline can make to achieving the objectives of education itself. This parochial concern has resulted in a fragmented, often non-relevant approach to the solution of educational problems. The academician in a school of education must leave the traditional investigations of his field to discover the meaning of that field in education.

The expanding role the laboratory school includes identification of areas needing investigation or problems in the field to which research effort should be addressed. This activity must be complemented by a synthesizing role where tentative answers are integrated into clinical practice and field-tested with a professional rigor to match the rigor of discovery. Complementing this function is the constant monitoring of research in education and related fields to detect possible relevance or importance unsuspected by the researcher who is not in direct contact with classrooms. Currently, institutes of higher learning tend to reward the theoretician for his generation of new knowledge but to bypass the investigator whose translation of that knowledge into clinical practice is essential. The latter function becomes a major role of a contemporary laboratory school and requires staff members who are bilingual in their fluency with an understanding of the fields of theory and practice. An example of this function has occurred at one laboratory school where instructional problems have been identified, where psychological research has been combed for knowledge relevant to classroom instruction, where that knowledge has been translated into language comprehensible to a teacher, and where, finally, the knowledge has been incorporated into daily teaching practices.⁴

An interesting example of this essential function occurred when, to test the validity of the practitioner's translation, a nationally famous researcher in transfer theory was approached with the question, "Is this a valid application of your research in practice?"

"How in the world would I know?" responded the bewildered

theoretician. However, as he observed classroom practice that embodied his intellectual contribution, he concluded, "Now I understand much better what it is I've been talking about!"

While rigorous research is an essential building block of new educational practice, it is important to stress that exploratory inquiry, "creative fumbling" as it is sometimes termed, is an equally essential function of the laboratory school to the extent that it represents frontier activity. Work of this kind may conceivably run ahead of systematic analysis; however, documentation continues to be a goal.

In the overall design, priorities should be set which give precedence to major contributions to basic and applied knowledge. This implies the establishment of a framework which would guide the educational program and the experimentation and research which that program would generate or facilitate. The major thrust would be the encouragement of extrapolations from funded knowledge rather than random "how would it work if . . ." activities. Ad hoc interests of independent researchers will undoubtedly make contributions, but they will not achieve a sufficient number of studies of central relevance to justify a laboratory school as a center unless that school's major impetus is an organized and directed program of research.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that the extensiveness of educational questions needing answers precludes the laboratory school moving ahead with equal energy on all fronts. Consequently, laboratory schools of the future will need to "major" in specified areas where they can mount considerable research effort, possibly "minor" in a few related areas, and leave to other laboratory schools the areas where they could direct only minimal and therefore wasteful effort. (This conscious and explicit concentration of energy follows the pattern set by many of our national research and development installations.) It then becomes the function of demonstration schools, rather than laboratory schools, to synthesize the field-tested programs into stable models. Because this will yield minimal problems with transfer and generalizability, such demonstration schools should be a part of the public school system rather than the costly and often artificial installations on a university or college campus.

Current areas requiring inquiry and investigation and consequently appropriate foci for the efforts of laboratory schools are:

1. *Teacher education* as an area for inquiry and research that will yield generalizable programs for organizations that, unlike the laboratory school, have as their primary function the production of teachers. An example of this focus might be the development and testing of

different programs in terms of their measurable effect on teacher performance behavior in the classroom.

2. *Technology* that ranges from the most complex electronics to more routine materials and equipment. Again, the emphasis of the laboratory school must be on the answers to educational questions rather than production per se. An example of this focus might be the use of the computer for certain instructional areas, providing the purpose was the answering of an educational question rather than its being the "thing to do."

3. *Goals and objectives of education* that need to be factored out, made explicit, implemented and tested in an environment pervaded by freedom to experiment, and unrestricted by tradition or previous practice. An example of this focus might be the development of a mankind curriculum from conceptualization of content through selection of learning opportunities and measurement of achievement of intended outcomes. Obviously, this would take the time and place of other content; hence the laboratory school must be free to make such deletion decisions.

4. *A particular phase of schooling* such as early childhood or upper elementary may become the target for major research and experimental effort. Recent attention to early childhood education in certain laboratory schools is an example of this focus. Equally necessary is effort directed toward other phases of schooling where much of what is practiced is suspect or has already become obsolete.

5. *Teaching methodology* which has already transcended the "good-bad" categorization that had so stagnated inquiry in the past. The new focus on methodology must reflect the theory that would support a particular method and the discriminators that would indicate the conditions under which such a method would be effective or ineffective. An example of this is the categorization of teaching decisions and the education of future teachers in this professional decision making which is being conducted at one laboratory school.⁵

6. *Organizational schemes* for the conduct of schooling. Nongrading, team teaching, and individualized instruction are a few of the currently popular plans in need of definition and rigorous testing. For want of this research in laboratory schools, all kinds of educational debacles have been perpetrated by well-meaning but uninformed zealots who had no place to turn for valid information rather than emotion and opinion. Much folklore in education is the result of such misguided or misinformed extrapolation.

7. *Staffing patterns* that define differentiated competencies, respon-

sibilities, and preparation for members of the profession as well as for paraprofessionals. Currently, the obvious fact that no omniscient, omnipotent generalists exist in education has generated all manner of staffing patterns. Unfortunately, the focus in such patterns is usually the ratio of adult bodies to learners rather than a description of functions to be performed and the creation of programs that will qualify individuals to perform those functions. A laboratory school might appropriately focus on identifying the performance behaviors which yield the information about the professional competence required and then experiment with programs to produce such a professional.

Regardless of its orientation or particular area of inquiry, every laboratory school must become an integral part of teacher education. Not in the old "go over and take a look at a classroom" sense where it is up to the observer to make the intellectual leap which connects theory with practice, but as a deliberate shaping of a future professional's intellectual orientation. This "shaping" should result from:

1. Direct experience with the rigorous generation of knowledge and practice in the profession of education.
2. Opportunities to consciously identify and label theory in practice and to have such perception monitored and guided.
3. Identification of questions generated by practice which require new knowledge before they can be answered.
4. Extensive interaction with the "bilinguals" in education whose domain is the weaving of relationships between theory and practice.
5. Opportunities to see working models of the new ideas in education and the rigor necessary for the valid development of such models.
6. Critical observations of educational processes rather than demonstrations of a particular program. Such observations would vary from a controlled demonstration of a preconceived model so a student could focus on a particular element and "see if it's there" to demonstrations that elicit the analytic behavior of "seeing what is there."

This interactive relationship between the teacher education program and the laboratory school should produce professionals with the pervasive intellectual orientation to look to research and the theory it generates as the fountainhead from which flows knowledge that nourishes the profession. This orientation should also encompass the importance of and responsibility for the practitioner to function as an essential professional teammate who identifies field areas demanding research. Recognition and respect for the essential contribution of both

theoretician and practitioner must become an objective in teacher preparation if we are ever to close the gap between the "ivory-towered theorist" and the "bogged in the mud" practitioner. The laboratory school is the only element in the present system which has the potential for accomplishing this herculean feat.

Dissemination

An important factor in the impotence of previous laboratory schools in changing public education has been the dearth of systematic scientific studies designed to be formally reported as published contributions to basic and applied knowledge. This has been coupled with a lack of availability of their research and resultant programs described in language comprehensible to the practitioner.

The expanding role of the laboratory school demands that it accept dissemination responsibilities for both the theoretical and clinical receiver. To accomplish this, staff members proficient in one or both of these languages of communication must be available. Time for such production is also a prerequisite for adequate performance. Currently, most of such dissemination is an overtime burden, so it is often not a person's best effort or remains in accumulating piles of "things to be done."

Media of communication should encompass films, tapes, programs, demonstrations, lectures, seminars, in-service and pre-service classes, curricular materials, articles, and dissertations. Dissemination should range from publication in scholarly journals to communication with a lay public. Whenever possible, an exportable product should be developed to replace human resources.

Development of Leadership

The institutions of higher learning have been effective in the production of researchers for the field of education but have lacked programs specifically designed to produce competent and vigorous leaders of clinical practice. The emergence of such leaders has usually been the result of mutation rather than design, with the major impetus for such competency emerging from the person rather than the program. To develop such competence, specially designed and prescribed field experience is needed to accompany the theoretical formulations available in university classes. The expanding role of the laboratory school encompasses its involvement as a primary factor in such field experiences. While all experiences should not be confined to

the laboratory school, the determination of performance behaviors required of future clinical leaders and the description and implementation of learning opportunities designed to achieve those competencies become a proper area for a clinical center of inquiry. Experiences designed, monitored, and evaluated by a laboratory school would include:

Opportunities in *community relations* to observe, participate in, and lead parent study groups, PTA meetings, service club meetings; to interpret the curriculum and philosophy of the school and school district to individuals in parent conferences and interpret classroom observations to groups of parents or other visitors; to prepare material for lay readers (news releases, newsletters, bulletins, etc.).

Opportunities in *planning* - at a principals' level as well as a district level, to apply knowledge of PPBS to the reality of a public education program by directing one small project in depth from planning to implementation and evaluation; to observe and participate in local school and district planning.

Opportunities in *instruction* - to select one small area of the curriculum and develop a plan for the improvement of instruction in that area for a level or phase in a local school; to do the same with one aspect of pedagogy; to analyze the teaching-learning act and hold the supervisory conference with a teacher; to plan and conduct at least one staff meeting in each of the following areas: curriculum, pedagogy, staff decision making; to demonstrate ability to plan, implement, and evaluate a learning opportunity for a single teacher, a group of teachers, a student, and a group of students.

Leaders who had been developed by such experiences would in turn supervise those experiences in public schools for future leaders.

Relationships

With the School of Education - In each of the expanding roles of the laboratory school that have been discussed, a critical factor is the organizing pattern which would integrate the functions of the laboratory school with the functions of the school of education. The laboratory school bears the same relationship to the school of education as the teaching hospital does to the medical school or the psychology laboratory does to the department of psychology. As such it is a resource, within the limits of other responsibilities and functions, to those who can learn from it and who will, in turn, contribute to it. To achieve this liaison, conscious and explicit avenues of communication and collaborative efforts are essential so that areas of mutual concern

can be identified and specialists will supplement and complement each other. A professor should find advice and assistance for his research from the staff of the laboratory school as well as experimental subjects. In turn, laboratory staff should find rigorous assistance with their clinical questions from the theoreticians. Undergraduate, graduate, doctoral, and post-doctoral students should have the availability of a laboratory school as one of the richest resources in their inquiry and education.

Unfortunately, lines of administrative responsibility between a laboratory school and department have not been well defined nor is the program which they share articulated effectively. The problems which arise from relations of a laboratory school and department are integration, articulation, and coordination. Whatever those problems are depends on the manner in which purposes and activities are defined and the nature of the processes used in decision making by a small, interested, technically competent group which represents the laboratory school and the department. Such a group should engage in studies and make comparative analyses as needed to develop a statement of mission acceptable by and productive to both. These self-studies in which many departments and laboratory schools are currently engaged should provide insurance against stagnation as well as set direction and purpose for an educational contribution that is available from no other source. This subjection to scrutiny and evaluation of all phases of ongoing programs should eliminate the danger of developing one program and perseverating with it, a symptom of decay which eliminates a laboratory school's potential for creative leadership.

Most importantly, the laboratory school has the potential and obligation for developing and supplying the clinical professor in education, the new professional so badly needed by schools of education.

With Other University Departments - Hopefully, the facilities of the laboratory school will be available to any other department whose interests and inquiry require pupils or a school setting. In return the resources of those departments should be available to contribute to expertise of staff or programs in the laboratory school.

With the Wider Educational Community - To fulfill the commitment of contributing to the wider educational community, the expanding role of the laboratory school encompasses vigorous and purposeful professional interaction with other laboratory schools as well as public schools throughout the nation. The staff of the laboratory school becomes a pool from which may be secured consultant assistance in launching new programs, especially in the area

of teacher in-service for those programs. While, as part of dissemination, it is the responsibility of the laboratory school to generate exportable products to assist with new programs, the support of a knowledgeable professional can be an essential ingredient. In return for such "community service," laboratory school staff members retain or recapture the perspective, focus, and sensitivity to the real world in education, a quality which can easily be lost in the aseptic world of a laboratory.

Staff

The laboratory school staff should reflect its commitment to the notion that there is no one "general purpose" educator. It must have an administrative head, usually a director or a principal, whose major area of competence is clinical practice. He must be an educational leader and catalyst for inquiry of all types. Rather than conduct research himself, he assumes responsibility for formulating research policy and developing ways to implement it. He must possess the bilingualism of theory and practice, so he can create an atmosphere conducive to staff study and explorations. Recruitment and training of staff is his responsibility, although he will call on all available resources that can contribute to quality and competency.

The expanding role of the laboratory school implies that it have staff (its own or from the school of education) assigned specifically for research and dissemination, so that programs and findings are carefully monitored, documented, and recorded. The teachers themselves are responsible for inquiry relevant to the development of an educational program, but not for inquiry of a scientific research type.

The quality of teachers at a laboratory school must be second to none. Only by teachers who are supreme performing artists in classroom implementation of curriculum theory and learning theory can the critical confounding variable of the teacher be held constant. Of all the variables in classroom learning, probably the most critical is the teacher's ability to promote that learning; hence this factor must be controlled if learning gains are to be attributed to an educational treatment rather than the charisma or expertise of the professional in charge.

This is not to say that the total teaching staff will be at the same level of competence and artistry. The laboratory school staff should suffer constant attrition as its top members are skimmed off to produce leadership for public education and clinical professors for institutions of higher learning. These will be replaced by newer members of the

staff who have been interning in the conduct of schooling in a center of inquiry. Moreover, to add the robustness of the real world and thereby reduce parochialism, some teachers from public education should be made temporary staff members. After a year or two, these teachers will return as leaders in their own districts. To produce a constant supply of new artists in teaching requires continuing in-service of all staff members, with stimulation and instruction coming from both inside and outside the laboratory school.

Finally, the staff of a laboratory school will usually include some student teachers, not in the typical sense but as experimental subjects in the continuing inquiry into teacher education. Again, it is important to stress that the purpose of a laboratory school is not to provide routine training that produces manpower for America's schools but to experiment with, improve, and validate with hard data programs designed to produce such manpower.

The ratio of administrators, researchers, disseminators, master teachers, interns, transient teachers, student teachers, and ancillary personnel such as nurses, social workers, counselors, or psychologists will vary, depending on the primary focus of each laboratory school. It is possible that for certain foci, some of these staff members will not be needed at all.

Pupil Population

To insure generalizability of findings, the pupil population of a laboratory school must be representative of the public school population for which the research and experimentation are intended. In some instances the laboratory school will represent only a particular segment of the population in age, ability, ethnic derivation, socioeconomic strata, or some other exceptionality, but in most cases a heterogeneous population with adequate representation from all relevant groups is more desirable. In any case, a laboratory school that is simply a recruiting device to provide education for professors' children, many of whom would learn in spite of any program, is at best a costly private school and of little use to a campus.

Admittance procedures which guarantee heterogeneity and *are impervious to political or economic pressures* must be determined. "Diplomatic immunity" must also be guaranteed to the person or committee responsible for administering such policy, or a skewed population will reflect the absence of such unavailability.

Parents of the pupils of the laboratory school must be aware that they are contributing subjects to an experimental venture, with the

guarantee that upon graduation, at whatever level it occurs, their child will be as well educated, and probably much better educated, than if he had attended any other school. That guarantee can be made for no other point than graduation, for research demands differing educational treatments such as withholding instruction from some groups for comparison with other groups. Consequently, the laboratory school pupil population must for the most part remain stable to enable the staff to remediate any loss as a result of experimentation as well as to provide longitudinal data.

It is important to emphasize that, in any research program which combines quest for knowledge with responsibility for professional service to the client, the welfare of the client is primary. Consequently, the goals of inquiry with a maximum of freedom and flexibility in adapting to the requirements of research must be reconciled with the prior obligation to protect the educational well-being of pupils.

As a result, the responsibility for decisions pertaining to pupil welfare with reference to research must rest with those responsible for the administration of the school. In most instances the well-being of pupils and the interests of inquiry are completely compatible.

As a condition of enrollment, parents must understand and accept the role and function of an experimental school and release their children as participants in this function. Otherwise the tendency to stabilize a program in the interest of service will negate the primary research interests of the school. It is essential that parents have an alternate choice of free schooling (their own public school or another nearby), so that the laboratory school can operate unfettered by parental or other restrictions. In return, the laboratory school parent group should be kept well informed. Parent interest in and contribution to the production of knowledge should be rewarded, for parents often become some of the most effective disseminators of that knowledge to the lay public.

Facilities and Budget

So many laboratory schools fail to provide adequate facilities and budget that a statement must be included here. The expanding role of the laboratory school necessitates more space than just classrooms and a budget for personnel other than teachers, as well as for materials and supplies beyond the routine. Flexibility of both facilities and budget is a requirement for the creative and efficient implementation of ever-changing programs or ventures.

Conclusions

In summary, the expanding role of the laboratory school necessitates a research facility and staff to accomplish the plans formulated, and an educational facility and teaching staff to develop an experimental program which makes research possible. This expanding role includes: inquiry, research, and experimentation with a major focus; bridging theory and practice; dissemination through many media; production of clinical leadership; a new and vigorous relationship with the department of education as an essential team member in the production of knowledge and the joining of theory and practice in the education of professionals; a complementary relationship with other university departments; and productive and purposeful interaction with and service to the expanded educational community.

These functions cannot be assumed by a public school whose primary commitment is the education of its clients. Only the laboratory school which exists to fulfill this expanded role can render the services necessary to accomplish a function that is of such educational significance to the nation.

¹John Dewey, *The Child and the Curriculum: The School and Society*. Chicago: Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press, 1966, pp. 96-97.

²Evan Hugh Kelley, *College-Controlled Laboratory Schools in the United States - 1964*. Washington, D.C.: The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1965.

³M. Curtis Hova and Kenneth A. Browne, *National Survey of Campus Laboratory Schools - 1969*. Washington, D.C.: The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1970.

⁴See the following pamphlets by Madeline Hunter, all TIP publications. El Segundo, Calif., P.O. Box 514: *Motivation Theory for Teachers*, 1967; *Reinforcement Theory for Teachers*, 1967; *Retention Theory for Teachers*, 1967; *Teach More - Faster!*, 1969; *Transfer*, 1970.

⁵Dwight Allen and Eli Seifman (eds.), *The Teachers Handbook*. New York: Scott Foresman and Company, in press. Chapters 3.1a, 3.1b.

Critique by Margaret Lindsey

Madeline Hunter presents a set of worthy criteria to be met by a laboratory school if it is to become "a productive center for educational inquiry, exerting powerful influence upon and shaping public education of the twenty-first century." She proposes that the *raison d'être* of laboratory schools is dedication to the resolution of two problems that remain in education: "One is the ever-widening gap between knowledge generated by educational research and practice in the classroom. The other problem is the critical need for an experimental laboratory to refine and field-test theory in an environment uncontaminated by the very necessary restrictions imposed upon public schools."

This line of reasoning leads Hunter to identify and provide brief interpretation of four functions a laboratory school will perform: "1) research, experimentation, and inquiry into the phenomena of education; 2) dissemination of results of activities; 3) development of leaders in clinical practice; and 4) demonstration, observation, and other activities germane to the first three functions."

It can be pointed out that the first, second, and fourth functions identified, and to a large extent the third one also, are not new in the literature on laboratory schools.¹ For at least three decades claims for the laboratory school have consistently included observation, participation, and student teaching; research and experimentation; demonstration, and in-service training. By 1960, with the movement toward off-campus schools for student teaching, emphasis on that function for laboratory schools had diminished significantly. Hunter's argument might therefore more appropriately be viewed as calling for re-definition of priorities rather than for expanded functions. To advocate placing higher priority on research and experimentation is not new either: such advocacy has been presented in earlier statements on laboratory schools.

The fact is, however, that a large gap has continued to exist between those functions and priorities advocated for and those actually performed by laboratory schools. Hunter recognizes this discrepancy, takes note of conditions that contributed to failures in the past, and provides useful suggestions for bringing into greater congruence the hopes and the realities in relation to functions and influences of

laboratory schools. She is justly critical of university professors whose research in laboratory schools was focused on the phenomena of their own disciplines rather than on problems or questions directly relevant to the objectives of education. She rightly calls for professionals who are bilingual, that is, who can speak the languages of both theory and practice and whose central contribution is the weaving of relationships between them. She asserts the importance for laboratory schools of heterogeneous pupil populations, master teachers, viable administrative structures, and cooperative relationships with university faculties and with communities. She is aware of the task of getting new ideas transferred from laboratory schools into the wider stream of educational practice.

Those who share Hunter's implicit faith in the future of the laboratory school as a powerful influencer and shaper of educational policy and practice will find not only verification but also positive suggestions for making their faith become a reality. Those who are less sure of the laboratory school's potential as the source of leadership in educational innovation will find the arguments less persuasive. As a member of the latter group, this critic finds that doubts about the promise of laboratory schools as centers of leadership in educational change have been brought into sharper focus by the preceding paper. This results not so much from what is explicit in the analysis but from what emerges out of its overall impact.

To provide the reader with some basis for consideration of alternatives to Hunter's proposal on laboratory schools, three areas of assumptions are identified and discussed briefly in the following paragraphs: 1) research and inquiry, 2) professional practitioners and their roles, and 3) processes of change in educational practice.

Assumptions Regarding Research and Inquiry

From what the previous author has to say with respect to research and inquiry, it appears that she holds the following beliefs about substance, methods, and participants:

1. Inquiry "of a scientific research type" is the province of the university professor. "The major thrust would be the encouragement of extrapolations from funded knowledge...."
2. Not even carefully selected laboratory school teachers should engage in more than inquiry "relevant to the development of the educational program."
3. The laboratory school is the place where areas needing research are identified and where new knowledge is translated into clinical practice.

4. Inquiry by practitioners of the "what would happen if" variety does not qualify as scientific research.

It is one thing to argue, as Hunter does, that there is need for a framework to guide research and experimentation. It is another to claim that development of this framework is the responsibility of the laboratory school alone. It is one thing to distinguish between more and less rigorous studies and another to declare that teachers should not engage in scientific research or to imply that inquiry they do engage in could not meet the requirements of such research.

Many questions are left unanswered by Hunter. What is the nature and purpose of research to be designed and conducted by university professors in a laboratory school? Is inquiry to be called scientific research only when it is patterned after the experimental model of the physical sciences? Is inquiry that employs methods of the social sciences to be classed as unscientific? This would rule out systematic carefully checked studies done in public schools where the variables of the real world are operating.

Hunter's restricting definition of research has built-in dangers that need to be considered thoughtfully. Particularly dangerous are such notions as separation of "research" from inquiry relevant to educational program planning, questionable differentiation between the status of laboratory school teachers and university professors, and removal from scientific research of problems involving variables that might "contaminate" results. These are among the ideas that have contributed in the past to the lag between theory and practice, one of the two problems with which Hunter is concerned. These are the dichotomies that have given rise to the attitudes of some practitioners that theory is irrelevant to their practice, that what is done in controlled environmental settings such as laboratory schools and university laboratories cannot be applied in their classrooms, and that researchers in universities deal with fantasy rather than with reality in conducting their research.

Assumptions Regarding Practitioner Roles

By implication Hunter appears to suggest a concept of classroom practitioners which ascribes to them, among other characteristics, three which are unacceptable to this critic. First, she apparently views them as artists who may not have the benefit of making their own study of their artistry; second, she seems to think of them either as incapable of, or as uninterested in, the scholarship of their craft; and third, she appears to circumscribe their functions to classroom transactions.

The integration of sensitivities, attitudes, knowledge, and skills in a

teacher's decision making and action in the fast-moving encounters with persons, ideas, and events in a classroom is indeed an art, whether it be an expression by intuition or by design. The use of the congruent self as instrument (to borrow from Arthur Combs) in interaction with others is a personal achievement to be envied by any artist, whether his transactions are nonverbal or verbal and whether his "other persons" are pupils in a classroom or fellow actors on a stage. To suggest that the artist teacher may, and in fact should, also be a student of his practice does not detract from the importance of his artistry: It assumes that the artistry may thereby be enhanced.

With regard to the education of teachers, Hunter proposes "deliberate shaping of a future professional's intellectual orientation" and suggests as a first order of priority in this process "direct experience with the rigorous generation of knowledge and practice in the profession of education." This proposal merits commendation. But what is the purpose of intellectual orientation, of involvement of prospective teachers in the generation of knowledge, if it is not to shape them as professionals who continue to take an intellectual stance in study of their practice and to engage in systematic inquiry designed to illuminate their practice? If teachers are "shaped" as intellectual professionals, then by what strange absence of logic can it be assumed that they will be incapable of or uninterested in practicing as intellectual professionals? Why all the current emphasis on study of teaching and training in the skills and strategies of teaching (micro-teaching processes, for example) if the intention is not to encourage and facilitate in future teachers positive attitudes toward and control of methods in researching their own practice?

The fundamental basis for teacher education that is inquiry-focused is the assumption that teachers so prepared will be continuing examiners and investigators as they proceed through a career in education. Either it must be admitted that this assumption is invalid and that teachers cannot be expected to be scholars, or it must be recognized that scholar teachers will be equal partners in the generation of knowledge relevant to the profession of teaching. Taking the latter point of view, it would seem appropriate to place considerably more responsibility than Hunter does on the shoulders of teachers everywhere for important research on matters of concern to them in their professional practice.

Although space does not permit any meaningful exploration of the functions of professional teachers in teams, resulting from various patterns of differentiated staffing, it is important to note that "leaders," "professionals," or "master teachers" in these teams are

expected to be competent scholars. Are professionally prepared teachers, who increasingly assume leadership with others in designing and conducting educational enterprises, to be placed in a position which limits their operations to applying findings from scientific research conducted by university professors in a laboratory school? Or should it be expected that such professionally prepared teachers would themselves engage in inquiry that meets research standards appropriate to study of problems of practice?

It has been noted by some students of the profession that a major reason for severance of capable teachers from practice in the classroom is the lack of stimulation for personal and professional development; that being confined to dealing with immediate problems in the classroom as they occur permits too little reflection, too little communion with persons about ideas that move beyond the daily operations, too little intellectual excitement. There is no denying that many teachers who stay in the classroom, as well as those who seek satisfaction by leaving the classroom, feel a lack of environmental expectancy that they be intellectually oriented and a sense of frustration with constraints that sometimes tend to reduce them to technicians with minimal, if any, opportunity to engage in scholarly activities. Yet Hunter joins many others in saying that these same teachers ought to be involved in the larger and more far-reaching problems directly related to classroom transactions: e.g., goals of formalized education, curriculum designing, innovation and change, community relations and involvement, concepts of schools and schooling in today's world, and so on. Teachers ought to be equal partners in decision making in matters that affect their work, participating in both the remote and the immediate decisions.

Assumptions Regarding Change Processes

Hunter suggests that the few laboratory schools associated with universities (apparently referring, although not explicitly, to university-controlled campus schools) represent *the locus of research and inquiry that will influence and shape education in the twenty-first century*. Thus she seems to deny to schools generally and to practitioners within them a fundamental role in either research or inquiry as she distinguishes between them. To propose that university professors carry on their major work in laboratory schools would seem to isolate them from out there where the real world is and to reinforce a condition that has proved to be disadvantageous both to those professors and to school personnel.

Obviously Hunter is as concerned as all other thoughtful people about the problem of bringing practice into close alignment with knowledge produced by systematic study. She proposes that one function of laboratory schools is the dissemination of findings from research by university professors carried on in those schools. She seems to assume a linear, sequential series of steps by which questions to be researched are identified at the university, research on them is designed and conducted, findings are reported, and these findings are field-tested in laboratory schools. But the gap between field-testing ideas (if indeed the process can be called that when carried on in university-controlled campus schools) and putting the ideas into practice in typical classrooms is a broad one. Hunter proposes that the gap might be bridged through special preparation of clinically oriented leaders who would then proceed to assist school workers in their adaptation or adoption of practices proved of worth in the laboratory school. Is this sequence of infiltration of ideas from university-based research down to classroom utilization of findings the most promising for influencing and shaping educational practice, without the serious lag to which Hunter and others refer? I think not. Let me suggest the basic dimensions of an alternative.

An Alternative Proposal

The reasoning behind the proposal that follows has been foreshadowed in the foregoing discussion. One consideration is that change in educational practice is fundamentally change in persons. Persons change as they have experiences that produce new concepts, new integrations of ideas, modified attitudes, and increased skill. Even when conditions surrounding the teacher (e.g., new staffing patterns, open classrooms, technological laboratories, learning resources centers) are used to stimulate change, effective change occurs only as persons relate to those conditions and hence modify themselves and their behavior.

The person who identifies questions to be studied, designs and conducts inquiry, analyzes findings, and considers the meaning of those findings profits more than anyone else from that process. Receivers of his report, even though it is accompanied by admonitions and concrete proposals for application, do not gain comparable insights and do not share the same enthusiasm.

A new breed of professional teacher is surely on the horizon, a teacher who is intellectually oriented, who is capable of making his educational environment a center of inquiry. It is essential that his professional life include a large measure of activity that is scholarly and

that continues to stimulate him toward reaching for the stars in understanding and improving the educational enterprise in which he is a central factor.

To have schools, universities, and communities function in isolated ways to bring about improvement in education is unprofitable and out of keeping with readily identifiable conditions in today's world. Collaboration among schools, universities, and communities in attack on perplexing problems is essential. Significant problems and questions about educational practice must be investigated in settings where the "contaminating" variables exist if the findings are to promote change in practice in those settings.

Teachers themselves need to have the power of "bilinguals," to be able to communicate in their talk and action in both the language of theory and the language of practice. Decision making by the teacher is a rational process that demands the use of both languages. The age of teaching that was rooted in imitation, the adoption of patterns, and the development of a precise set of right ways of doing things is long past. This is the age of teachers who thoughtfully design strategies, who can rationalize and examine what goes on in their classrooms — in short, teachers who not only understand existing theories but can contribute to the building of new theoretical concepts.

University professors — social and behavioral scientists, humanists, specialists in subject matter of the school curriculum, and their like — who are concerned with educational practice in schools are acutely aware of their earlier shortcomings in affecting practice. Those among them who are seriously interested in helping to improve practice have already turned to schools as the locus of their study and have recognized the urgency of involving school personnel in their studies.

School organizations (local, regional, and state) have augmented their central staffs to include specialists in research. It is now common for such research staffs, located in schools, to reach out to universities with requests for their involvement in studies initiated by them and their colleagues.

State and federal funding agencies more and more demand as a requirement for funding the collaboration of schools, communities, and universities.

With the rapid expansion in number and type of institutions of higher education, school personnel have within easy geographic reach college and university personnel, many of whom are interested in inquiry related to the preceding levels of education — early, elementary, and secondary. Similarly, almost all colleges and universities have

within their area many schools to which they might appropriately relate in carrying on their inquiry activities.

Considerations such as those just presented suggest that laboratory schools are not likely to be the most promising centers of inquiry to influence and shape educational practice in the twenty-first century. That such schools have functions to perform and that they may perform them with distinction is not denied. But they cannot carry the burden of inquiry if practice is to be improved efficiently and economically. It is proposed here that every school should in some way be associated with an institution of higher education where there are instructional and research programs designed to prepare practitioners and to improve practice. Every such higher education institution should have a group of schools and other educational agencies with which it collaborates in responsible ways and as equal partners in the improvement of practice. A network of consortia bringing into direct relationships schools, the communities they serve, and higher education institutions would have advantages over laboratory schools in influencing and shaping educational practice.

If such networks were operating everywhere as they now are in some locations, the question of unique functions to be served by campus laboratory schools would have to be looked at in a different light. I have no doubt about the need for university-based scholars as producers of knowledge and no fear that laboratory schools will not make certain contributions. My argument rests on disagreement with Hunter on the kind of research that is appropriate to study of practice, the unscholarly status to which she consigns classroom teachers everywhere, and her view of how best to bring about needed reform in educational practice.

¹See, for example, the review presented by William Van Til. *The Laboratory School: Its Rise and Fall?* Terre Haute, Ind.: Indiana State University and the Laboratory Schools Administrators Association, 1969.

Changing the Palace Guard

By Alvin P. Lierheimer

Every profession maintains certain standards for admission to practice, gates for entry which are guarded by law, custom, and a certain amount of reason. Most trades maintain requirements for admission through apprenticeship standards and union shop conditions. Churches require creedal affirmation for members who wish to partake of their benefits, now and hereafter. Housing developments have zoning laws and unwritten real estate policies to guard their territory against intruders. One could even stretch the analogy by referring to *The Territorial Imperative*, in which Robert Ardrey says, "We act as we do for reasons of our evolutionary past, not our cultural present, and our behavior is as much a mark of our species as is the shape of a human thigh bone. . . ."¹

So the question of changing the guard at the gates which permit entry to the professional practice of teaching is indeed a significant one and a rightful one for consideration by the profession itself. One must ask, however, what is beyond the gate? Is it only those who have passed the palace guard that can claim to be teachers? And by what authority — legal and rational — does the guard make decisions? The remarks which follow examine the purposes of teacher certification, review some of the sources of dissatisfaction with the present scheme, and suggest the ingredients of an alternative system.

What's the Purpose?

The textbook definition says that the certification of a teacher is a means for assuring that only qualified persons may engage systematically in the formal schooling of young people. Legally, "qualified" means a person who meets the requirements stated in law or regulation. But qualified can also mean "competent for a given purpose" and in this case the purpose, i.e., the objectives of teaching, is only vaguely stated.

Much emphasis is placed on being qualified to teach in terms of meeting requirements; less concern is given to the relationship of these requirements to a candidate's ability to induce learning on the part of students and to meet other more descriptively stated objectives of teaching. The purposes of certification are indeed enmeshed in a mysterious web of circular reasoning which has avoided the obvious dilemma: If there are only two candidates, which one should be appointed, the certified but unqualified teacher or the qualified but uncertified teacher? Even with its deficiencies in definition, however, certification is a word that freely enters into our conversation about school programs.

None of these phrases — certified, qualified, competent — fully describes our intent. But this is a shortcoming of our glorious language at least as much as it is an inadequacy of concept itself. We do want a qualified person, qualified not in the legalistic sense of meeting the requirements, but qualified in terms of being an effective, intervening respondent to the young person's needs for purposes of guiding and augmenting social, emotional, and intellectual maturation.

In being critical of the inadequacies of teacher certification, we need not hold up other professions or occupations as models or assume they are without shortcomings. One could question a licensing scheme that permits some nurses and doctors to be insensitive to all but the grossest physical problems of patients. Examples of licensed but incompetent physicians are not unheard of. There is much concern today regarding the quality as well as the quantity of medical care available to large numbers of people. The question is asked: To what extent is the traditional self-regulation of the medical profession responsible for this situation? Are there not lawyers whose bar examination signifies nothing with regard to ethical awareness? Are there not licensed pharmacists whose knowledge and skill has been subverted in cases of drug addiction?

While these analogies may border more on ethics than on skill, this unclear distinction is even foggier in the area of teaching where both value education and technical competence are expected from the common-school teacher.

Teaching also differs from other professions or occupations by its socialized nature: that is, the student is compelled by law to accept the professional ministrations of the teacher assigned to his class. In most other professions, the client has some choice in the matter, a fact that may excuse some of the deficiencies in their licensing system.

Education is an element of every other profession or occupation. Every group must be concerned with perpetuating its own kind. There

is medical education, legal education, nursing education, training and apprentice programs for the trades. But our concern is with the common elements of schooling that are foundational for the specialized education that may follow. How a youngster is educated in the common elements of learning directly affects his ability to decide and control his own educational growth. These general and basic needs make it especially difficult to isolate the unique qualifications for the palace guards at the gates of the public schools. What is it they are guarding? Who says how well they are doing it?

Some will say that certification is just an imperfect cog in a bad machine. Critics will say that we should really be attacking and correcting the whole problem of teacher education, whose deficiencies are well known to cocktail party analysts, clever writers, and self-styled promoters. Certainly there are deficiencies in teacher training. Hasn't our very educational attainment shown us how to identify shortcomings in everything? Some of today's problems are the result of past successes.

Certification symbolizes all that precedes it; it stands at a point where training should be evaluated and where the emphasis should be on the performance of the individual candidate. Can he perform in such a way that the educational objectives of the school will be met?

What's Wrong with Certification?

It is far easier to identify the shortcomings of the present system than it is to suggest viable alternatives.

In a book called the *Dynamics of Academic Reform*, J. B. Lon Hefferlin reminds us that "the evidence of history all points to the near inevitability of institutional inertia."² There have been stirrings for reform among educators for some years; all too often, however, the proposals have offered simplistic solutions to complex problems.

Most of the literature on the topic – and there is precious little of a conceptual nature – attacks either the Mickey Mouse education courses or the bureaucratic impediments to the thousands of dedicated liberal arts graduates waiting to make youngsters as pompously wordy as they are.

There is a body of professional literature which justifies new variations of the old style of certification – for example, a new course sequence or a new certificate title to be achieved through a different course or experience. But there appears to be little in print that examines in a diagnostic and constructive fashion the content and the form of a licensing scheme in general. More has been written in the

education field about the problem of responsibility — *who* gets to decide — than has been written about *what* the content and form shall be.

Even an educationist-observer is troubled by the gap between the practice of teaching in today's classroom and research findings reported in the literature. How many classroom teachers have access to Gage's *Handbook of Research on Teaching*³ and can expect stimulating help in analyzing some of its reports in light of their own practice? Teaching effectiveness varies between classes, between observers, between items observed, and between situations in which the observation takes place. Research is going on in all these areas, and newer statistical methods and tools for treating data give some reason for optimism. Why, then, do we still find serious attempts by educators themselves to find simple predictors of teaching success — e.g., pupil ratings, advanced college degrees?

Certification on the basis of program completion is essentially a constraining device that keeps out of teaching all but those who have passed a prescribed sequence of courses or experiences. There is generally no test to determine whether any of the course work stayed with the candidate, much less how well any of the course work can be applied to live and changing situations. Teacher groups have long maintained that they know so much about the deficiencies of tests that they could not use them. Public confidence in teachers is not reassured by such criticism, however.

When new areas of certification are proposed, it is for the primary purpose of keeping out the so-called unqualified. Certification is not a device that seeks to include and license all those who can enable students to achieve a stated level of performance.

Certification has been essentially unresponsive to changes in society and in the schools. These legalistic minima cannot take into account newer demands on teachers — for example, technological innovations in instruction, a changing emphasis from subject matter to humanistic concerns, or even inter-disciplinary problems that suddenly strike our senses: pot, pollution, and population. The people who may best be able to deal with these problems in the schools may not now be teaching or even in training to be teachers.

Even more devastatingly damning is certification's distance from the candidate as well as the consumer. Most teachers are certified through a remote process in which they never have to show anything more of themselves than a college transcript. The ultimate consumer — the pupil — has nothing to say about the individual professional assigned to him.

Few college training programs have a systematic and analytic process

for feeding back student reaction into the training component. There is even less connection between curriculum building at any level and the training of personnel who are to handle that curriculum.

In the last several years, criticism has focused on the failure of any teacher certification scheme to be a measure of teaching performance. Certification today stands simply as a statement of input.

And even if certification tells us something about a teacher's reservoir of knowledge, it doesn't tell us about his creativity, his inventiveness, his leadership, his social maturity, his honesty. One could also make the case that certification schemes as they exist today perpetuate the textbook-oriented teaching-as-telling which has characterized classroom practice for generations. Research studies report with boring consistency that teachers talk between 65% and 75% of the time.⁴

In an era of participatory management, the flowering of the democratic spirit for which the schools can take some credit, certification's consumer might well ask for a piece of the action, an opportunity to have something to say about the staff that absorbs 80% of his school tax dollar. In education, the consumer can't easily take his business elsewhere; so he feels the need to say something about the qualifications of the professionals who will be assigned to him.

It can also be understood that in an era of short supply, the educationist, as a scarce commodity, has had a lot to say about who gets past the gates and into the tax pastures which Harold Noah fears may be grazed to extinction by this sacred cow.⁵ But the era of short supply may now be waning; it will make a difference.

More than ever before, the role of the common school in education appears to be shrinking. The Educational Policy Research Center at Syracuse University maintains that by 1976 more than 82 million adults will be in educational programs *outside* the traditional school system compared with 67 million students in traditional schooling.⁶

About us are other indicators that teachers may not be calling the shots. Private industry is taking an enlarged role in developing and delivering educational components. The giant Litton Industries alone reports sales last year in its educational sector of 72 million dollars. Commercial enterprises are being awarded contracts to teach reading and other skills on a performance basis - i.e., guaranteed improvement or no payment. The success of TV's Sesame Street is bringing more educational equipment into the home as a formal education center.

These developments do not foretell a simple continuation of past certification practices nor do they provide much assurance that teachers as a group should have the sole power to control admission to practice.

An Alternative System

The biased observer of certification's shortcomings is hardly the best designer of an alternative system. The sources of reform may well be external to the system. One recalls Harold Laski's comment that "no educational system will ever transcend the general postulates of the community in which it works. . . ."⁷ A dramatically different social invention is not likely to be acceptable to professionals, no matter how keenly critics feel it is desirable. When one thinks of new approaches to certification, there are conditions in today's world which should be considered at the same time that one keeps in mind the criticism of current practices:

1. Formal schooling may be a less significant portion of an individual's total education than it has been considered heretofore. Witness: The influence of television on preschool children; storefront, freedom, and liberation schools; the rise of independent study; in-plant schooling via TV and on-the-job apprenticing.

2. Moral identities are changing. The obsolescing virtues of hard work, knowing one's place, chauvinistic patriotism; the rise of alienation and the undermining of authority; the spread of an experimenting ethic. These realities have subtle meaning for the training, selection, and certification of teachers because they demand a sensitive respondent whose educational objectives are properly and firmly established.

3. Kenneth Boulding suggests that we are moving into a mosaic society in contrast to the "melting pot" of the past.⁸ Few candid observers today, black or white, would predict, for example, that blacks will one day be as indistinguishable from their neighbors as are yesterday's Irish or Poles.

4. Teacher education will also be influenced by the trend in urbanization, by a population that comprises 6% of the world's people but consumes 30% of the world's available resources and doubles itself every 40 years.

These elements of society force teacher education and the palace guards to reassess their objectives and to reexamine what they believe to be the most important elements in the curriculum. The schools still act as if teachers were just purveyors of knowledge. But in truth the teacher of today must teach problem solving, teach "how to learn," teach in a variety of settings both content and interactive skills, interaction with man and with the environment. These are not elements of any known licensure scheme today, yet they are the requirements for qualified teachers.

Who Will Be Involved?

There will also need to be participatory patterns in the development of an alternative system. Who are the groups most affected by the activities of certified teachers and how can they have a positive input?

Practitioners. There are teachers and administrators of today's schools who feel that only with full responsibility for certification of their peers can they truly be held accountable for results. But the candid critic says: "You've had lots of my money for a long time and a lot of kids still can't read. Why should I give you more responsibility to influence who gets to teach?"

Teacher Educators. Teacher educators in colleges have a life-time dedication to improving the quality of education provided beginning teachers. But their critics persist in asking for the evidence that 18 semester hours of education make any difference in a teacher's ability to reduce the alienation of youth from authority, or the teacher's ability to communicate value-development.

Professional Associations. Organized groups of teachers lay claim to responsibility for determining certification standards. The phrases are common in the literature — self-governance, professional autonomy. But the organized groups find it difficult to convince the taxpayer of their sincerity and their ability to make a constructive contribution, especially when they actively pursue a strike that leaves its mark on the intellectual growth of a generation of students.

Administrators. Administrators at all levels have experience with teachers and with programs teachers carry out. Administrators expect to have a share in setting the standards for certification of teachers on the basis of this experience as employers. Unfortunately, the public holds these school leaders to blame for unresponsiveness to new demands — sluggish movement on the devastating problem of drugs, lack of understanding about ecological awareness, a black-less curriculum pushed about by the strident forces of reaction, failure to make much use of technological innovations in instruction.

Pupil and Parent. Certainly the consumer and his parents are proper participants in the establishment of standards for those who would teach. But where is the evidence of sustained and informed responsibility by student groups? Where is the evidence of breadth of vision and maturity of judgment about others than self? The certified teacher gains permission to influence generations of youngsters in a world that will vary greatly from the day he received appointment to the day of retirement. Are predictions of success over this period to be made on the limited basis of one or two years' observation by peripatetic clients?

Legislators. Legislators have ached for the chance to control the vast acreage of public funds which support universal education. Perhaps they should have a portion of the responsibility for setting standards. Many of the electorate, however, take a dim view of the legislator's ability to separate ethical from political considerations in reaching decisions.

Other groups were rightfully interested in the certification of teachers. College faculty in fields other than teacher education not only have professional expertise to offer but they may inherit into their discipline the products of the schools. State agency officials are usually given a surveillance assignment and, beyond that, an advisory or determinative role in deciding on standards. Journalists with an eye- or ear-hold on the public mind are, when they're good, our most informed and independent social critics. Business and industry leaders employ many of the schools' products and it is reasonable to include their observations and expectations.

Is there then a possibility of establishing, out of such diverse but concerned elements, a responsible and representative body — a Certification Authority — answerable directly to the state's highest legal educational group, e.g., a board of regents? Rather than give such an authority the responsibility for setting standards for teachers, let it concern itself with the processes by which local districts develop their own standards, a process which meets certain conditions of equity, administerability, effectiveness, representation. The Certification Authority might sponsor developmental trials starting with broad objectives for teachers at various levels, including both content knowledge to be verified by examination and behavioral performance to be recorded by peer observation using data-processing techniques for purposes of comparison and analysis.

The state's criteria for monitoring the development of standards for educational personnel could be set aside if the Certification Authority were convinced that a representative and responsible local body had the capability to derive an alternative. The alternative itself would not be the concern of the statewide authority. Rather, the authority would concern itself with the process and how the results were to be evaluated. Into the state system and into any alternative schemes could be built an evaluative feedback loop that would permit assessment to be done on the basis of the performance of students and teachers in light of stated objectives, task analysis, and systematic behavioral observations.

As with any representative body, the question of weight distribution arises. What group will predominate? How will the parties align

themselves? That question can be left for later consideration if the initial concept can be accepted — that is, maximum local freedom available in the certification of teachers under limitations imposed by an independent and representative body of concerned persons.

What special treatment should be accorded the teacher in all this? Is it not appropriate that the organized profession concern itself with developing convincing definitions of tasks, ways of judging and identifying persons according to standards it believes to be effective? It will be by a demonstration of the appropriateness of such classifications that they will be adopted for use locally. Schools and communities will require that a teacher who has his union's Diplomate in Education be employed as a teaching team coordinator because experience has demonstrated to the school the meaning behind this professionally issued credential.

The local district may also employ several persons in the community without formal educational requirements but with recognized understanding and ability to cope with alienated youth. Perhaps these persons are part of an educational program under the direction of a teacher specialist in behavioral psychology who is licensed by his state association as a "coordinator in interpersonal skill development."

The distinction that could emerge is one in which a license — as a mark of competence — is issued by the professional association. An employment credential — a mark of having met local requirements — is issued by the school district. Every task in the schools may need to be performed by someone with an employment credential, but only specialized tasks will fall to a licensed professional.

These distinctions are refinements that need to be preceded by acceptance of the shared-responsibility concept in teacher licensing.

How Do You Judge Usefulness?

The world doesn't need another cockeyed design embroidered onto a patchwork bureaucracy. A super authority could become just another vested interest group and not function in a responsible and responsive manner. Perhaps its establishment and maintenance should be by vote of the general population under apolitical conditions set down by the legislature. Certainly some safeguards would be needed.

It is unlikely that the organized profession will respond eagerly to the sharing of responsibility for certification with non-professionals. And by the use of the strike or a withholding of services, the teacher organizations can impose their will on the public, although with questionable effect. The repeated use of the strike for all but the

gravest injustices teaches the public that schools are even more useless than tradition has led them to believe.

Self-regulation does not have a successful history, if we judge by the tobacco industry and public health, or the automobile industry and public safety, or the plastics industry and solid waste disposal. Even the medical profession is under criticism for failing to maintain a responsible level of in-service education for its practitioners.

Yet the strongest technical competence to determine standards for professional performance is in the hands of the larger profession — the researchers, professors, teachers, administrators. Logic and demonstrated success can convince others with a deep interest in, and responsibility for, certification of the kinds of special training that are indeed needed for the development of required skills and understanding.

Educational product measurement is no easier now with new technology than it was years ago. Certainly we can't be satisfied that scholastic aptitude scores are the ultimate test of the teacher's effectiveness. But the localization of standards-determination will force the school to set goals so that it may know more clearly the purposes for which it seeks teachers and the expectations it has for their performance. There may be the customary measures of knowledge, but there may also be measures of responsiveness to conditions that the local community deems to be of critical importance to its young people. Being forced to explicate goals, a local district and a representative local or regional authority may find themselves accommodating to positions they readily criticized before they were responsible.

Will a new bureaucracy emerge, even more confused and constricting than the present ones? The basis for confidence in a broadly representative certification authority rather than one narrowly restricted to other professionals is the counterplay among rational men guided by good will and dedicated to the improvement of the most foundational element of our society, its common schooling. To this agency must be brought diagnostic tools for consideration, technological devices for recording and reporting analytical data, and the authority to cast free the experimentally minded school or group of schools that sees a new path to improving the range and quality of instruction offered its young people.

No system is foolproof and probably no system can build into itself a guarantee against obsolescence. We are not faced, however, with forsaking so valuable a certification device that we should require an ironclad warranty of success from its alternative. There may be political winds that will blow the entire concept out of sight; there may be

professional back-arching that will doom any significant departure from the current scene. More than anything else, however, the concept of participatory management in professional determinations needs an airing by the many parties with a deep interest. And scarcely any group is without such an interest once it looks closely at its connections with the schools. To follow the narrow path of professional self-governance is not a pleasure we may be permitted. It may indeed not even be the most appropriate path. A better educated and alert citizenry may not tolerate such prideful luxury on the part of other professions for much longer.

An index to the vitality of any profession is its readiness to alter existing methods and requirements with an eye to offering improved service to clientele and practitioners alike. Let the guardians of the gates take part with others in the decade's greatest educational invention — a viable method to assure that qualified persons alone are permitted to assist in the social, emotional, and intellectual maturation of the young.

¹Robert Ardrey, *The Territorial Imperative*. New York: Atheneum, 1966, p. 5.

²J. B. Lon Hefferlin, *Dynamics of Academic Reform*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969.

³N. L. Gage (ed.), *Handbook of Research on Teaching*. New York: Rand McNally, 1963.

⁴Ned A. Flanders, "Teacher Effectiveness," *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, New York: Macmillan, 1969, p. 1429.

⁵Harold Noah, "Econemesis at Teachers College," *Teachers College Perspectives*. Teachers College, Columbia University, Winter, 1969-70.

⁶Reported in *Education Recaps*, Vol. 9, No. 6, p. 15. Princeton, New Jersey: Educational Testing Service, March, 1970.

⁷Harold Laski, *The American Democracy: A Commentary and an Interpretation*. New York: Viking, 1948, p. 382.

⁸Kenneth E. Boulding, "Expecting the Unexpected," in Edgar L. Morphet (ed.), *Prospective Changes in Society by 1980*. New York: Citation Press, 1967, p. 211.

Critique by Carl A. Larsen

Changing the Palace Guard" is an interesting and challenging analysis of the general assumptions and practices surrounding the certification of teachers. The paper provides some historical perspective, works over current practices, and offers suggestions for change.

Alvin Lierheimer appropriately takes a hard look at the purpose of state teacher certification and finds fault with the ability of the system to meet the objectives established for it. While his conclusions as to the shortcomings of state teacher certification systems are well taken, he assigns *too great* a burden to the single task of certification. He states, ". . . the certification of a teacher is a means of *assuring* that only *qualified* persons may engage systematically in the formal schooling of young people" [italics mine]. His declaration is an overstatement of what a teacher certification system can do. It can only assure that an individual who earns a certificate has completed a prescribed amount of college or university coursework, has completed a prescribed amount of practice and/or field work in a public school or schools, and/or has obtained a certain amount of actual paid school experience.

The only valid assumption that can be made is that an individual who has gained this knowledge, practice, and experience will have a better chance to succeed than a comparable individual without such preparation, practice, or experience.

The error repeated continually through the years has been in placing too large a load upon the single function of certification. Certification is not now, and never has been, able to guarantee competency or success. Individual teaching and professional service positions in the public schools vary greatly in the qualifications required for success. A principal may be very successful in one school with one group of teachers and a failure in another school with another group of teachers. A teacher may do a most creditable instructional job in one situation, but be unsuccessful in another. An individual at one time in his career may be a very effective teacher, at another time quite ineffective. Among other things, chronological age, mental health, physical health, personality changes, type of administration, supervision given, assistance provided, curriculum materials available, and the point in time all contribute to teaching or service performance.

Lierheimer writes that certification systems tend to be restrictive rather than positive, that their emphasis is upon keeping persons out of teaching or service positions rather than seeking out persons who are needed and who can make a real contribution to the schools. He specifically points out that the "approved program approach" to the certification of professional school personnel is especially derelict in this regard. As a general point of view, this may be a valid criticism but it applies equally to all professional licensing systems.

However, in this connection one should remember that professional licensure was brought into existence as a means of protecting the public from incompetent and unscrupulous practitioners. While in one sense licensure systems are restrictive by design, their major thrust is to provide the public with practitioners who have had the preparation or training and experience deemed necessary to perform adequately.

The major thrust of Lierheimer's article is his suggestion for change in the palace guard. The way to go, he says, is to broaden the representativeness of those who serve in this capacity in order to make them more responsive to the needs of the society they serve. He even suggests that popular election to the Certification Authority, as he terms the new group, might prevent its becoming just another vested interest group.

After having been an observer of and participant in state government for approximately 20 years, and after rather continuous participation in meetings of the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification, the writer must conclude that our major efforts at change seem to center on revising organizational and administrative structures rather than on striving for the substantive changes or adjustments that need to be made in programs of preparation and in-service education. Change the form, build a new structure, create a new board or commission seems to be the standard procedure.

As an example, one has only to refer to Tim Stinnett's chapter in this book tracing the evolution of the present structure of the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education. The National Commission on Accrediting was more concerned with form than with substance in deciding whether to give NCATE permission to continue its national accrediting function. The issue was not whether NCATE was doing a creditable job; the power structure of the council was the issue. Stress on form rather than on substance is democracy in action. As the saying goes, "The important thing is to vote. For whom one votes is not important."

Lierheimer's Certification Authority would not be a standards

development group but would supervise and guide local educational units in the development of their own standards. Rather than approve standards, the authority would approve the processes involved. If the process were satisfactory, ipso facto the standards developed would be satisfactory. Standards of equity, administrability, effectiveness, and representation would be applied for process approval. In fact, Lierheimer suggests that the Certification Authority might even set aside its own criteria for the approval of standards development if it were convinced a local educational unit was what might be termed "process mature."

It seems logical to Lierheimer that if state certification systems are keeping a number of persons out of classrooms and out of guidance and administration positions who could improve instruction and operate the schools more efficiently, then the way to get those people into the mainstream of American public education is to increase officially the number and the kinds of persons who make the admission rules. Add to the gatekeepers a broader spectrum of American society and it follows that a broader spectrum of American young people will be allowed through the gates to teach and to provide professional services. This will give local school districts greater choices. If it is true that persons who could be good teachers and render other productive professional services are being kept out of the public schools by the certification requirements in force, then by all means widen the palace gates.

It is difficult to believe, however, that the answer is this simple and that by changes in organization and structure we can achieve better teaching and better pupil personnel and administrative services. The better answer, it seems to me, is to 1) define in terms of performance what teachers and professional service personnel must be able to do, 2) prepare and certify individuals when they have demonstrated they can perform these essential tasks satisfactorily, 3) develop and maintain continuing performance evaluation systems within the schools, and 4) mount and continue relevant in-service education programs for continued employment and certification.

Each generation believes its educational challenges are the greatest. Contemporary society believes sincerely that the public schools face the greatest educational problems ever faced. Lierheimer states that schools must "... reassess their objectives and ... reexamine what they believe to be the most important elements in the curriculum. The schools still act as if teachers were just purveyors of knowledge." At what period of time in America could its teachers serve the schools as only purveyors of knowledge? Things were so desperate in the 1930's that Counts asked if the schools dared build a new social order. Since then some

educators and a number of prominent lay persons have jostled at the windmills of progressive education and life adjustment. Some have done so with good logic and understanding. Most, however, have raged against these educational ideas for at least three decades, giving simplistic answers to complex educational questions.

Lierheimer writes that "... the teacher of today must teach problem solving, teach 'how to learn,' teach in a variety of settings both content and interactive skills, interaction with man and with environment." The teacher of every age has had the responsibility of teaching in this way. The 1930's saw the birth of many new educational ideas because it was a desperate age fraught with many economic problems. We are again in a desperate age struggling with continuing social problems, and we do indeed need teachers who are more than purveyors of knowledge. Unfortunately, as Lierheimer states, these are not elements of any known licensure scheme, yet they are the requirements for qualified teachers. Unfortunately, also, there is no more assurance that Lierheimer's certification authority participation system will bring forth the exemplary teachers needed than that the present system will do so.

In conclusion, I pay tribute to Lierheimer and the ideas he has created. They are indeed stimulating, and the opportunity to discuss them is appreciated. Giving birth to new ideas is always a more difficult task than criticizing the ideas born. Indeed, broadening the palace guard rather than moving toward exclusive control by the profession states the issue clearly. But will this procedure create more effective and efficient schools? More involvement of the public in establishing standards for admission to teaching, guidance, and administration may well increase public confidence in its schools. This alone would help.

Accreditation of Teacher Education Institutions And Agencies

By T. M. Stinnett

Given the prevailing zeal to topple establishments and reform power structures in our society, a movement inherited from the Sixties, it seems clear that the Seventies will bring great changes in the processes of accrediting schools and colleges, including the accrediting of professional programs. These changes will probably be a major phase of the unfinished business of the teaching profession as it seeks self-determination.

Presently, education in the U.S. maintains one of the recognized national professional accrediting agencies. In seeking to project what is likely to happen during the next decade in the accrediting field, it is necessary to review briefly some of the history of accrediting in this country.

There is in America a built-in bias against government involvement in accrediting. It arises from our peculiar frontier conditions, plus the fact that the first dozen or so of our higher education institutions were private ones. These early institutions wanted to avoid replication of the European pattern. Thus in time we developed the voluntary, private process for putting the stamp of approval upon the quality of the programs of higher education institutions. Eventually the same process was adopted for high school programs. The word voluntary has, of course, become a euphemism. While membership in the accrediting associations was voluntary, it stretches the imagination to consider seeking accreditation as a "voluntary" action today. True, institutions are not impelled by force of law to seek endorsement of their programs; but reality does force them to do so. For accreditation has become essential to an institution; conversely, disaccreditation or failure to achieve accreditation, as a rule, means institutional death.

Accrediting in U.S. higher education institutions apparently had its origins in a New York State law of 1787 requiring the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York to visit every college in the

state once a year and report annually to the legislature.¹ Thus the first attempt at accrediting was by state legal authority.

The New York Board of Regents continues to exercise this function and has extended its influence and its powers. These powers and duties are in many ways similar to those exercised by central ministries of education in Western Europe. Not only does it have broad powers over the conduct of higher education institutions in the state, but since 1870 it has had the power of licensure for all professions.²

Originally, the purposes of accreditation by the regional associations were to establish sound admission policies and to maintain minimum academic standards. This meant admission of high school graduates to colleges, transfer of credit from one college to another, and admission of college graduates to graduate and professional schools. Over the years, the purposes have been expanded to include stimulation of self-study and self-improvement by accredited institutions, to resist pressures from outside forces, and to prevent dilution of standards by political and economic forces. Realistically, it should be added that all accreditation tends to become a power struggle for control over the nature and content of education. On the extremely fruitful side, accreditation has been the instrument by which students and parents can be protected from fraudulent institutions.

The development of regional accrediting associations, beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century, was a logical one, in view of great diversity among college and high school programs of the various geographical areas of the United States. As late as 1875, it was estimated that three-fourths of the existing colleges maintained high school departments to bridge the gap between high school and college offerings, and in many colleges this continued to be true well into the twentieth century.

Because of the variety of admission examinations of colleges in the area, the Massachusetts Classical and High School Teachers Association consulted with President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard. A result was the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, founded in 1885. Actually, this association did not become an accrediting agency until 1952.

Earlier (1870), the University of Michigan had instituted, in the Midwest, the German practice of having members of its faculty visit high schools in the state and certify to their capability of preparing students for admission to the university. This practice was adopted by several other state universities in the Midwest and South. It led later to the assumption of the same function by state departments of education, which established systems of classifying high schools for

college admission purposes. In effect, high schools were accredited by a legal agency.

(The Colorado State Department of Education is currently experimenting with an alternate approach to accrediting high schools. It is called "accrediting by contract." Each school district identifies its educational goals and develops criteria for their achievement. These goals and criteria are adopted as local board policy.)

The success of the New England Association prompted other regions to establish similar accrediting associations. The North Central and Southern Associations were created in 1895, the Middle States Association in 1892, the Northwest Association in 1918, and the Western College Association in 1948.

In the East, where preparatory schools were predominant and the state universities had little influence, an alternative plan for college admissions was developed in 1900. This was the establishment of the College Entrance Examination Board, which developed standardized tests for college admission. The origin of this alternative plan obviously was influenced by the New York Board of Regents examinations for high schools, begun in 1878 to serve the dual purpose of certifying for high school graduation and college entrance.

Accreditation of professional programs developed along different routes. Instead of regional associations, the professions have insisted upon national associations, beginning with medicine in 1904. Actually, medicine did not begin an effective accrediting process until after the Flexner Report in 1910.³ Flexner exposed the low state of medical education, somewhat comparable to teacher education prior to 1927, when the American Association of Teachers Colleges began efforts to bring some order out of extremely diverse standards. Still, many of the dismal conditions in teacher education were in existence when the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) was established in 1952.

Currently, 31 national professional accrediting bodies are recognized by the National Commission on Accrediting (NCA).

The Hassle Over NCATE

NCATE was established as a joint council, with equal representation from public school practitioners, preparing colleges, and state education legal authorities (an arrangement that exists in several of the recognized professional accrediting agencies). It rekindled the historic schism between liberal education and teacher education. As early as 1918, the North Central Association adopted standards for teacher colleges as the

basis for admission to membership, but resistance to the idea among its member institutions delayed application of these standards until 1927. In that year, the American Association of Teachers Colleges, apparently despairing of favorable action by the regionals, began applying its own standards. The Middle States Association was asked to consider accrediting teachers colleges at its first meeting in 1887, but took no action to do so until 1934. Opposition to NCATE — at least that which came into the open — was based upon two considerations: 1) the contention that there is no need for professional accrediting of teacher education because the regional association procedures are adequate; and 2) the argument that there is too heavy a representation of education's legal authorities on the council.

The persisting opposition of major institutions, long lukewarm to the concept of professional preparation of teachers and to the notion that teaching in the public schools is or can be a profession, forced a reorganization of the constituency of NCATE in 1956 in order to secure recognition by the NCA. Subsequent reorganizations, both as to constituency and procedures, were forced upon NCATE by resisting institutions. A 1966 reorganization gave the majority representation on NCATE to the preparing institutions.⁴

The following chart shows the various restructurings of the council's constituency.

<i>Representation</i>	<i>1954</i>	<i>1956</i>	<i>1966</i>
1. Practitioners	6	6	6
2. Association of Teacher Education Institutions	6	7	10
3. State Legal Authorities	6	2	2
4. Local Legal Authorities	3	1	1
5. Academic Disciplines	0	3	3
Total	21	19	22

Note that institutions of higher education have expanded their representation from six to 13 (No. 2 plus No. 5), while the 2,000,000 public school practitioners remain at six and the legal education authorities have been reduced from nine to three.

Many practitioners view these reorganizations as a triumph of the concept that effective control of accreditation of teacher education should be vested in the preparing institutions, with only token representation allotted to the practitioners. By 1970, NCATE had accredited only 470 of the 1,246 U.S. institutions preparing teachers.

less than 38% of the total, leaving 776 institutions, or about 62%, without NCATE accreditation. (Two hundred eighty-four of NCATE's 470 were inherited from the AACTE.) While it is estimated that the NCATE-accredited institutions prepare about 80% of the newly graduated teachers each year, the 776 non-NCATE-accredited institutions present a real problem in the free movement of teachers across state lines.⁵

Alternatives to NCATE

If the search for self-determinism in the management of professional affairs in lower school teaching is to continue — and there are many evidences that this search will continue — what are the alternatives to sole or major reliance upon NCATE?

There are several factors involved here:

1. Public school practitioners have to abandon, or greatly ameliorate, the shining faith they once had in the efficacy of the cooperative partnership approach, pursued so enthusiastically in the 1950's. That partnership underwent a steadily increasing deterioration in the Sixties. In fairness, it must be pointed out that much of the deterioration resulted from the vigorous nationwide drive of teachers to achieve and apply the legal right to negotiate collectively. This created schisms within the ranks of the practitioners themselves. It influenced philosophical and procedural changes in NEA policies. These changes, in turn, tended to alienate certain groups in higher education, including the AACTE.

2. There is now a widespread demand for the teaching profession to be held accountable for the quality of education or the lack of it. The Nixon Administration and the general public have become insistent on this point. Practitioners in the public schools have little quarrel with this demand. But they insist that if they are to be held accountable for what happens in the schools, they must be given a reasonable degree of responsibility for procedures and processes and policies.

3. Which concept of the purposes of the public school is to prevail? The meritocratic concept or the egalitarian? If the meritocratic concept is to obtain more or less exclusively, as in the past, the controls of education at all levels are likely to remain in the hands of the colleges which espouse it, with all the instruments of control that have been historically applied -- including standardized examinations, prescription of high school curricula, and voluntary accrediting associations. If the egalitarian concept is to prevail (or a reasonable blending of meritocracy and egalitarianism), then these controls must be broken. There is

some evidence that this trend is under way. An increasing number of colleges are adopting open or dual admission policies and eliminating well-established standardized tests for admission. Moreover, several large-city school districts have recently declared moratoriums on establishing employment eligibility by the use of standardized tests for teachers.

A revolt against excessive controls of the curricula of high schools by colleges occurred as early as 1917, resulting in the founding of the National Association of Secondary School Principals.

4. There is a growing trend toward greater reliance on accrediting by legal authorities, both of states and the federal government (discussed below).

5. There is a strong movement by practitioners in the public schools to seek by state legislation the self-determination which has been effectively denied them in the past. There are now professional negotiation laws in 23 states, professional practices acts in 16, and professional standards boards in about a half-dozen. Such laws — particularly the last two — are designed to vest a large degree of self-determination in the profession, including the right to a voice in the determination of standards of preparation and licensure, practice, and continuance in practice.⁶

Moreover, all states have now established some form of advisory body on teacher education and certification, made up of members of the profession. Fourteen of these bodies have been created by state law; the remainder are extralegal or voluntary.⁷

Legal Accrediting

It has been pointed out that higher education has consistently resisted the legal approach to accrediting. There are very good reasons for this resistance. However, control of the public schools and the preparation of teachers for them has legally been vested in the states for more than a century now; the control involves both accreditation and licensure. Unfortunately, this legal control has often been diluted or indifferently exercised. The states have been notoriously dilatory in the chartering of higher education institutions, in developing and applying accrediting standards, and in the awarding and validating of degrees. This has been especially true with reference to private and proprietary institutions. In only a few states is the power to charter a college, to enforce standards of quality, or to revoke the charter even of an avowed diploma mill vested in the state education department. The result has been that an alarming number of "diploma mills" still exist.

Institutions in California and Florida have recently been reported as selling doctor's degrees for \$20, in – of all fields – the ministry. In the absence of state laws prohibiting such practices, they are legal. Or perhaps a better designation is "not illegal."

The traditional reluctance of state governments to exercise control over private or proprietary institutions is reflected in a recent survey made by the Education Commission of the States.⁸ Thirty states reported no control over the establishment of either new private nonprofit institutions or non-degree proprietary institutions. In only 20 states was approval for authority to establish new institutions vested in state agencies. Prior approval by such agencies was reported in only three states. Thirty-three states reported no criteria for the establishment of these institutions.

The sources of approval for new degrees, while universally vested in some state agency for public four-year and two-year colleges, applied in only 10 states to private institutions; in 43 states this power is vested solely in the governing board's of these institutions.

Maryland is one of the 10 states with laws vesting wide authority in a state education agency for regulating both public and private higher education institutions as well as private proprietary institutions.

Some excerpts from the Maryland statutes:

The State Board of Education is empowered to prepare and publish annually a list of approved colleges and universities and determine the standards for such approval. . . . They [the board] shall prescribe the minimum requirements for issuing all certificates, diplomas, and academic, collegiate, professional, or university degrees. . . . All private schools of whatever designation (except those operated by *bona fide* church organizations) must secure a certificate of approval issued by the State Superintendent Schools before it may begin or continue to operate in this state. . . . Any such certificate may be revoked at any time for cause. . . .⁹

With the growing practice of appropriating public moneys for private institutions, it appears likely and necessary that such specific grants of power to legal agencies of the states will be enacted, vesting the powers in the state board of education or a higher education board or commission.

But in teacher education the states now appear to be moving toward developing and applying their own standards. In the past, states tended to depend upon standards (or criteria) of the regional associations or those of NCATE. Currently 41 states (as contrasted with 20 in 1967)

report that they have developed their own standards. Eleven of the states place full reliance upon their own standards; and two states rely upon state and NCATE standards. Forty states report that they are now using visiting or evaluation teams made up of ad hoc committees of professional people, in lieu of the once-prevalent single staff person in the state department of education.¹⁰

A total of 24 states report that they are evaluating in-state institutions on the standards of *Bulletin 351*, developed by the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification. Thirty-six states report that they will grant certification to graduates of institutions in other states which have approved programs under *Bulletin 351* standards.¹¹

The above-described development can be attributed largely to increasing adoption of the approved-programs approach, by which the state legal authority approves in advance the proposed preparing programs (for the several levels, areas, and specializations in teaching). Once approved, the graduates of each of the programs are certified upon the recommendation of the preparing institutions. Presently, 36 states report use of the approved-programs approach to certification; and 26 of the states do not require transcript analysis, only recommendation of the preparing institutions. Original approval requires a comprehensive self-study of the applying institution, a detailed report to the state legal authority, and a thorough evaluation by a visiting team. Such comprehensive appraisal is made only once in a specified period, varying among the states from five to 10 years. In the meantime, continuous auditing of the approved programs is carried on by spot-checking of small samples of applications each year by the state department of education, to ascertain if the plan of the program is being followed. Forty-one states report significant roles or some influence of NCATE in interstate reciprocity.

USOE's Role in Accrediting

A relatively new development in the accrediting pattern is the projection of the U.S. Office of Education into the field, by virtue of federal legislation requiring the determining of institutional eligibility for federal funds.

Since its creation in 1867 (as the Department of Education), the USOE has sought to avoid this responsibility, adhering to the principle of state responsibility for education and deferring to the voluntary accrediting associations. This has been difficult to do; and with the flow of federal funds, beginning with the NDEA appropriation in the late

Fifties, in all probability the USOE will be forced further into the accrediting field.

There were two previous indirect and unintentional efforts in this area by the USOE, the second of which was beat down by vehement protests of the schools affected. When the office was founded in 1867, the law directed it to compile periodically a listing of colleges. Because the preponderance of colleges at that time offered a combination of high school and college work, the office was compelled to define a college. The listing in effect became an accredited list, because the definition excluded some institutions calling themselves colleges. Again in 1912, the office at the request of graduate schools undertook to compile a list of colleges whose graduates were likely to be acceptable to graduate schools. Before the list could be published, President Taft received vigorous protests from some colleges; he ordered the project abandoned.

Currently, under federal law the U.S. Commissioner of Education is required to publish a list of nationally recognized agencies and associations determined to be reliable authorities as to the quality of training offered by institutions. Most institutions get on the list of eligibility for certain federal funds in this manner. But under some legislation provision is made for qualifying processes other than accreditation.

As a result, the Commissioner of Education created a special staff in the Bureau of Higher Education in 1968 to deal with accreditation and eligibility. Among the functions of this staff are: 1) continuous review of procedures of the USOE in the areas of its interest and responsibility relative to accreditation and eligibility for funding; 2) administration of the process whereby accrediting associations secure initial and renewed recognition by the Commissioner; and 3) consultative services to institutions, associations, other federal agencies, and Congress regarding accreditation and eligibility for funding. Also, the Commissioner established an Advisory Committee on Accreditation and Institutional Eligibility consisting of 11 nongovernmental educators to assist him in determining institutional eligibility. This advisory body was charged with evaluation of accrediting bodies for recognition by the Commissioner. Also, the committee is to review reports of the accrediting policy unit of the USOE and may recommend that recognition be granted an agency, that approval be deferred, or that approval be denied. All nationally recognized accrediting agencies will be reevaluated at least every four years.¹²

Currently, the six regional associations, the New York Board of Regents, two state boards of nursing, and 28 professional accrediting

associations (NCA recognizes 31) are on the Commissioner's recognized list. In addition, there are 11 recognized associations which accredit vocational and technical programs below the degree level. Recognition of these 11 associations dealing with fields leading to the associate degree is a much-needed service, since the NCA recognizes only higher education institutions.

What the ultimate impact of the federal role in accrediting may be, under existing and probable additional legislation, cannot be predicted. Presently, the USOE accrediting activities complement NCA efforts. But it can be surmised that it will be of increasing significance if the federal government increases support for education.

Another development that could have clouded the issue of legal accrediting *vis-a-vis* voluntary was the decision of a federal court in the District of Columbia in 1969. The Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools had declined to evaluate a college for accreditation, on the grounds that it was a profit-making enterprise. The court held that such action by the association was in restraint of trade and in possible violation of federal anti-trust laws. It ordered the association to consider the college's application for accreditation. In this decision, the court held that higher education is a competitive enterprise, that the refusal of regional associations to recognize schools operated for profit constitutes an illegal and unfair restraint.

This decision was reversed on June 30, 1970, by the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. If it had been sustained, the implications for education and the teaching profession, as well as other professions, would have been far-reaching but uncertain.

Some Future Possibilities

The assumption has been stated above that practitioners in the public schools will probably turn increasingly to legal investiture of authority in state agencies for basic accreditation of teacher education programs and for achieving nationwide reciprocity in teacher certification. The hope of the practitioners is, of course, that they will be given significant roles, advisory or legal, in the derivation of standards or procedures by which these controls are to be exercised.

We appear to be entering a period in which there will be a diminution of emphasis upon national and regional patterns and a burgeoning movement toward state patterns in teacher education, certification, and accreditation. This statement would seem to ignore recent developments in which federal support and grants gave impetus to national patterns. The latter constituted, of course, a necessary

evolutionary step because of the inertia of states in exercising quality controls over these processes; the states seemed unable to rise above the dictates of local mores.

However, there is now much evidence of positive movement by the states in these areas. First, the great diversity in minimum preparation requirements for teacher certification among the states has virtually disappeared. Second, the state legal authorities are now abandoning the legalistic, bureaucratic enforcer obsession. Third, the proposal of the New York Education Department for the legal adoption of the Interstate Reciprocity Compact has been enacted into law in 23 states.¹³ (The New York Education Department led another reciprocity movement, perhaps the first among the states, in the 1890's, through acceptance among the states of each other's certificates.) Fourth, regional and national accrediting processes have become so numerous, so complex, and so expensive as to become extremely burdensome to higher education institutions.

As to the future of NCATE, the council may be in a stronger position than ever. Its basic roles probably will change, but its power may be enhanced. The changed roles probably will result in the council serving as consultant to the state education legal authorities in the derivation and continuing refinement of criteria for evaluation of teacher education programs. NCATE will doubtless be in the same influential position in the processes of applying the criteria. Certainly, it will continue to lead in stimulating institutional self-study as a means of constant improvement of programs.

If this course is pursued, the respective state departments of education would be justified in contributing to the financial support of NCATE. This would constitute a purchase of public services from a private organization — the services of research in teacher education, constant refinement of evaluative criteria, and professional know-how in the evaluation of in-state teacher education programs. A graduated annual scale of support, according to the number of institutions involved, might range from \$1,000 to \$2,500 among the states.

This arrangement, supplemented by the development of a proposed national certificate by NCTEPS — a voluntary certificate based upon high standards of preparation and performance — would tend to enhance the achievement of national reciprocity in teacher certification.

Supported by the leadership of the AACTE and NCTEPS in relationships with influential segments of the teaching profession, NCATE may increase in influence and acceptance in teacher education.

The tie-up with state legal education authorities will be something of

an analog of the cooperative accrediting of high schools by state departments of education and the regional accrediting associations. Virtually all of these associations now have a commission on secondary schools, on which the respective state departments of education and school administrators have heavy representation. (An obvious weakness in current representation is the almost complete absence of classroom teachers.) These representatives have influential roles in the derivation of criteria for accrediting high schools and in the evaluation of high schools seeking regional accreditation. State departments of education classify (or rate) many high schools that cannot, at the moment, be accredited by the regional agencies. Such classification tends to stimulate the high schools accredited only by the state to grow toward regional accreditation. And, in their classifications, state departments of education make wide use of the evaluative criteria developed by the regionals.

Somewhat the same relationships are envisioned for NCATE and the various state departments of education.

To be sure, this suggestion involves a drastic departure from past practices, but not nearly so drastic as the tidal wave of change in all of education. There is a considerable body of evidence that there is movement in this direction. And there are many advantages to commend the possibility.

Some questions arise at this point:

1. Will NCATE be autonomous in the derivation of criteria and in establishing procedures for their application? Or will it become a satellite of a given segment of the profession?

2. Can appropriate legislation be passed in the states: (a) to assure the integrity of institutional chartering and authorization of degree programs; (b) to safeguard against interference with the operation of accrediting for partisan considerations; and (c) to provide legal or quasi-legal recognition of the right of the teaching profession to have an influential role in policy considerations of prime concern to the profession?

The proposals in this paper can be seriously challenged on the grounds that teaching should not depart from the pattern of national accreditation adhered to by all other recognized professions.

This is a strong point. What is proposed herein is not abandonment of national accrediting. Rather, an effective coordination of national and state accrediting is suggested.

The major issues in teacher accreditation and certification today are, I believe:

1. Can teaching maintain a voluntary national professional accrediting process?
2. What are the overriding dangers in legal accreditation?
3. What are valid roles of the practitioners in accreditation of teacher education programs?
4. Is autonomy, in a legal sense, possible for public school practitioners?
5. What are the conflicts of interest that tend to create divisions or separatisms among the specialities in the teaching profession?
6. What are the needed reforms in teacher certification?

¹William K. Selden, *Accreditation: The Struggle Over Standards in Higher Education*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960, p. 30.

²*Ibid.*, p. 52.

³Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada*, Bulletin No. 4. New York: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1910.

⁴For a comprehensive, objective analysis of the struggle over NCATE, see John R. Mayor and Willis G. Schwartz, *Accreditation in Teacher Education (Its Influence on Higher Education)*. Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Accrediting, 1965.

⁵T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States*, 1970 Edition. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, pp. 4-8.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁸"Higher Education in the States." Denver: The Education Commission of the States, 1970, Vol. 1, No. 2, 11 pp.

⁹"Maryland Laws Concerning Higher Education." Baltimore: Maryland State Department of Education, June, 1967, 47 pp. (mimeographed).

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 39, 40.

¹¹From a survey made by Allen Rosebrock, reported in T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States*, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

¹²See "List of Nationally Recognized Accrediting Agencies and Associations," issued by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Accreditation and Institutional Eligibility Staff, Office of Education, Bureau of Higher Education, Washington, D.C., 1969, 9 pp. (offset).

¹³New York Education Department, "Interstate Agreement on Qualification of Educational Personnel," in *Taking Your Talents Across State Lines*. Albany, N.Y.: The Department (no date).

Critique by Karl Massanari

It is significant that Phi Delta Kappa has included the topic of accreditation of teacher education in this volume, as well as in the special issue of the *Phi Delta Kappan* (September, 1970) devoted to the "Unfinished Business in the Teaching Profession." For more than 40 years, the accreditation of college and university teacher education programs has been regarded as one of the important means to stimulate improvement of preparation programs.

That the accreditation of teacher education is considered to be part of the "unfinished business" of the education profession is likewise significant, because educators most closely associated with accreditation, as conducted by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education since 1954, have insisted that both the standards used for accreditation and the process of applying them must be continually studied, revised, and updated. Accreditation of teacher education, therefore, is always "unfinished business."

The author of "Accreditation of Teacher Education Institutions and Agencies" writes from a rich background of experience in the accreditation of teacher education. He was one of a group of leaders in teacher education who first conceptualized the idea of national accreditation of teacher education through a National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) during the late 1940's. He was active in its formation in the early 1950's and helped to guide its growth during the first years of its existence. Since that time, he has continued to maintain an active interest in accreditation as well as in the certification of teachers by state departments of education.

T. M. Stinnett's paper begins with a brief review of the history of general and professional accreditation. After discussing the controversies and struggles over the control of NCATE, he suggests that other alternatives to the national accreditation of teacher education by NCATE are being and should be considered. He concludes the paper by supporting one of these alternatives, namely, that the accreditation of teacher education should be a legal function of the several states with NCATE serving in an advisory capacity.

Although Stinnett says that he is not proposing the abandonment of national accreditation of teacher education, it is this writer's view that that is precisely what he is suggesting. With the states having

legal control of accreditation and NCATE in a consultative role. It is difficult to understand how he concludes that NCATE may be in a stronger position than ever, and that NCATE will doubtless be in the same influential position in the process of applying criteria. His proposal raises, once again, the question of whether or not there is a need for the national accreditation of teacher education.

Is the national accreditation of college and university teacher education programs (as distinct from state approval of teacher education programs) desirable? Is it needed by our society and by the education profession? A number of considerations support an affirmative answer to these questions.

1. National accreditation of teacher education provides the only sound arrangement which makes possible the free mobility of competent teachers and other professional school personnel across all state lines. The free mobility of competent professionals is recognized widely as a national need. In an earlier article, writing about the efforts of several states to set up other types of reciprocity plans, Stinnett himself said, "What this nation needs is a fair, workable plan for free movement of teachers across all state boundaries, not a hand-picked-group-of-states plan."¹

The reciprocity argument was one of the basic reasons for establishing NCATE. Twenty-eight states now grant reciprocity on the basis of NCATE accreditation. Unfortunately, not all states are taking advantage of utilizing NCATE accreditation for this purpose. Nothing really has happened in the last decade which suggests that any plan other than national accreditation provides an acceptable arrangement to ensure that competent professionals can move freely across all state lines.

2. National accreditation of teacher education makes possible "independent evaluations" of institutional preparation programs, evaluations unencumbered with subtle and not-so-subtle pressures that inherently get entangled with the evaluation process when the system is state based. Evaluating an institutional program of teacher education is a complex task. The process should not be further complicated by in-state pressures which often impede the evaluation task. An evaluation team must be free to make independent judgments.

3. National accreditation of teacher education can muster more clout effecting improvements in preparation programs than is possible under state-based systems. For the institution being evaluated, the judgments of an outside-the-state, broadly representative evaluation team carry more weight than those of a team composed only of in-state evaluators.

4. National accreditation of teacher education makes possible the development and application of national standards. These, in turn, as noted by John Mayor² can "help to offset, as well as to overcome, the present diversity in standards and procedures among both the state and the regional associations." National standards in teacher education have assisted and can continue to assist state departments of education to develop and to apply high standards.

5. National accreditation of teacher education makes possible the establishment of higher quality levels in preparation programs as a basis for reciprocity among all states than is possible under a wide variety of state and/or regional systems. The quality levels established for reciprocity in state and/or regional systems vary considerably. A national base is the only way to ensure a uniform quality level for all states; and, judging by the present NCATE standards, the level will be higher than that presently established in a number of states.

6. National accreditation of teacher education makes possible an arrangement — on a national basis — whereby interested groups (e.g., the organized teaching profession, professional associations and learned societies, colleges and universities, state legal authorities, and the lay public) can work together cooperatively in establishing and maintaining quality controls for the preparation of teachers and other professional school personnel. With a number of groups having specialized — and legitimate — interests in teacher education, a cooperative approach in maintaining quality controls is likely to be the most workable and effective arrangement. As a matter of fact, the operation of NCATE at present is one of the few national educational ventures, if not the only one, in which the organized teaching profession, professional associations, colleges and universities, state departments of education, and the lay public work together on a cooperative basis.

7. In Stinnett's words, "National accreditation of teacher education offers real hope for the elimination of cheap, shoddy shortcuts to entrance into the profession."³ In performing this function, national accreditation of teacher education meets a recognized social need.

8. National accreditation of collegiate teacher education programs conforms to the pattern of national accreditation adhered to by all other recognized professions. Arguments based on the uniqueness of teaching in relation to other professions do not support the contention that the pattern for the accreditation of teacher education should be different from that established for other professions.

9. National accreditation of teacher education is consistent with the pattern of voluntary, nongovernmental control of standards in higher education which historically has characterized American education.

Such self-imposed quality control is unique to American education and is in marked contrast to the patterns followed elsewhere in the world. A highly centralized control system, characteristic of many ministries of education, tends to infringe on institutional autonomy and to stifle local initiative.

10. National accreditation of teacher education, under the auspices of NCATE, has stimulated significant improvements in preparation programs for teachers and other professional school personnel. For the most part, the accomplishments of NCATE, since its establishment in 1954, go unmentioned in Stinnett's paper. In the context of his paper, this omission implies that NCATE has not had a very positive influence on the improvement of teacher education. The John R. Mayor study⁴ and the Ray C. Maul study,⁵ to mention only two sources, report some of NCATE's accomplishments. The impact of NCATE on state standards and the testimonials of literally hundreds of teacher educators provide further supporting evidence that it has stimulated significant improvements in teacher education across the country. It must be admitted that such improvements have sometimes occurred slowly and over long periods of time, but that is the nature of social change in our society.

These considerations suggest that we still need the national accreditation of college and university programs of teacher education. But the accreditation of teacher education we need is one that must continually be studied, evaluated, and revised to keep in tune with changing societal conditions and with advances in the state of the art of preparing professional school personnel. In this sense, the accreditation of teacher education will always be part of the "unfinished business" of the education profession.

It is important to note that, since the unconditional approval of NCATE by the National Commission on Accrediting in 1965, significant steps have been taken to revise the accreditation standards and the process of applying them. These steps were taken to keep the accreditation of teacher education dynamic and responsive to social change and to reflect advances in the state of the art.

In carrying out its responsibility for periodic revision of the standards used by NCATE, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) conducted a three-year study (1966-1969) designed to develop new accreditation standards for teacher education, for both basic and advanced preparation programs. During the research-study-reaction phase, there was extensive involvement of many individuals in various settings: 1,200 colleges and universities, 60 learned societies and professional associations, 50 state

departments of education, plus representatives of the organized teaching profession (through the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards) and teacher education students. The proposed new standards were field tested in eight representative colleges and universities across the country and then revised in light of the test results. The new standards⁶ were adopted officially by NCATE in January, 1970.

These new standards permit considerable latitude in designing and conducting preparation programs and recognize that responsible experimentation and innovation are essential to the improvement of teacher education. They emphasize the importance of designing preparation programs in relation to both the professional role for which the program is designed and the performance outcomes sought, and of evaluating the graduates of the respective programs in terms of the stated objectives. They stress the inclusion of high quality laboratory, clinical, and practicum experiences in the professional studies component of the curriculum. They require that an institution should give due consideration to the guidelines for the preparation of teachers and other professional school personnel which have been developed by national learned societies and professional associations, and that it should have representative student participation in the evaluation and development of its teacher education programs. Furthermore, in developing and operating teacher education programs, an institution is expected to interact on a continuing basis with cooperating elementary and secondary schools. The new standards regard the competence of the faculty as the crucial factor in operating basic and advanced preparation programs. These standards are not viewed as the "final word" in accreditation standards. The organizational structures of both AACTE and NCATE provide for their continual review, evaluation, and revision.

The revision of the standards has been accompanied by major changes in the process of applying them. NCATE's Committee on Process and Standards has initiated significant changes in the accreditation process leading to more effective evaluations of institutional programs by visiting teams, the evaluation board, and the council. The entire process is under continual review and study by the committee so that it can contribute effectively to the improvement of teacher education programs.

National accreditation of college and university teacher education programs — especially when dynamic and responsive to social change — has much to offer to the improvement of preparation programs for teachers and other professional school personnel, and ultimately to the

education of American children and youth. At this point in time, the education profession should continue to seek ways to maximize the effectiveness of NCATE as the approved agency for the national accreditation of teacher education.

¹T. M. Stinnett, "Golden Years Upcoming? Maybe." *Journal of Teacher Education*, Fall, 1967, p. 370.

²John R. Mayor, *Accreditation in Teacher Education Its Influence on Higher Education*. Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Accrediting, 1965, p. 227.

³T. M. Stinnett and A. J. Huggett, *Professional Problems of Teachers*. New York: Macmillan, 1963, p. 498.

⁴John R. Mayor, *op. cit.*

⁵Ray C. Maul, *Accreditation of Teacher Education by NCATE*. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, April, 1969.

⁶The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, *Recommended Standards for Teacher Education; The Accreditation of Basic and Advanced Preparation Programs for Professional School Personnel*. One Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C. 20036. March, 1970.

The Meaning and Application of Performance Criteria in Staff Development

By William H. Drummond

Two questions confront those institutions, organizations, and agencies who are involved with teacher education and staff development:

1. What is it that we want people to be able to do in order to play certain professional roles?
2. How will we (institutions, organizations, and agencies) help unique individuals become what they want to become individually and still achieve competence in playing the roles we have defined?

The first question calls for the definition of a variety of roles based upon organizational (societal) needs. The second requires a unique and personal definition of a role based upon both institutional expectations and individual needs and goals. These questions and the underlying tension between individual and organizational goals are not new in teacher education nor in the larger society. What appears to be new is the pressure to move toward explicitness in answering these questions. As one who has had experience in trying to help others see the possibilities of using technology for improving the ways teachers are now being prepared, I have learned that I must make explicit my own beliefs and values. The anxieties which arise from change or the threat of change (especially change which may be viewed as dehumanizing), call for an expression of the change agent's motives. The purpose of this paper is to discuss ramifications of the application of systems technology to teacher education and staff development in a democratic context. To put it another way: Of those people who read this paper, 65%, when asked to report its meaning, will state that the author believes the application of performance criteria in teacher education and staff development can be liberating - that is, can help the individual practitioner be more self directive, more competent, more professional.

I shall provide: 1) a statement of beliefs and values concerning the

application of technology to education; 2) a set of principles for program development; 3) institutional considerations in the use of performance criteria; 4) individual considerations in the application of performance criteria for staff development; and 5) a summary of the changes in teacher education which logically follow from the ideas presented.

Beliefs and Values

1. Whatever the instructional or learning system established, it should support societal and human values, such as the following:
 - a. Every individual is of infinite value.
 - b. Every individual is unique.
 - c. Every individual has a right to become himself.
 - d. Education should help a person become free. (Freedom is the power to choose from among alternatives with the acceptance of the consequences for the choices made.)
 - e. People, given the truth, will usually make wise choices.
 - f. Power (political and economic) must be widely shared among all the people if tyranny is to be avoided.
 - g. Existing political processes can be used for change and, in fact, are our best-known means for peaceful change.
 - h. Institutions and agencies are or continue to be valuable only as they help achieve the persistent aspirations of man.
 - i. The good society is the open society.
 - j. People are more important than things.
2. Individuals are the synthesizers of experience. Since each individual is unique, each person possesses and is developing his own set of perceptions, needs, and aspirations.
3. Individualization requires that the learner be the agent for choosing and undergoing the next learning experience. Sequencing, therefore, is a sacred right of the learner.
4. The teacher using his resources (knowledge, skills, artistry, and technology) is responsible for:
 - a. discovering and diagnosing individual learner needs;
 - b. projecting (being ready for) probable learner goals;
 - c. communicating with the learner and others significant to the learner;
 - d. negotiating agreements with the learner regarding his goals and objectives;
 - e. providing alternative activities (ways) and an appropriate environment for the learner to achieve agreed-upon objectives, or

helping the learner create new alternatives and environments for himself;

f. investing enough time, psychic energy, and affection to see the learner through to a satisfying achievement of his agreed-upon objective(s);

g. providing timely feedback and encouragement during and after each learning activity;

h. collecting data which might be used for subsequent planning and work.

Program Development Principles

Considering the values and beliefs just expressed and the present state of the art of applying technology to the preparation of teachers, the following principles seem to have power for those who are involved in planning and designing new or different preparation programs:

1. Those institutions and agencies which have a stake in the nature of staff development should be involved in the design and the operation of preparation programs. This means that organizations other than colleges and universities which have traditionally assumed responsibility for preparation should also collaborate in staff development activities. They include: school organizations, representing the interests of parents, citizens generally, and the administrative authority of the schools; and professional associations, representing the special interests and the general interests of persons practicing in the profession.

2. The components of preparation programs, alternative learning environments, and experiences made available to prospective students of teaching should be based upon an examination of professional roles (actual or desired) and consideration of the related performance outcomes sought. Performance outcomes in this context deal with both the performance of teachers and the consequent performance of pupils engaged in learning under the supervision of those teachers.

3. Program components need to be individualized to allow persons to progress and develop at their own rates, consistent with their unique personality and learning styles. This implies that:

a. there is no one way to achieve any particular performance objective;

b. model performances should be available (live and on film) demonstrating different modes and styles;

c. real choices are available to the individual which are within his perceptual field; and

d. when none of the available prearranged choices is suitable to

and for the individual, he and the training staff may create or allow to be created additional alternatives. The number and ordering of experiences should be negotiated between the individual and those who share in the responsibility for his preparation and competence.

4. Program components should be designed so that feedback (and assistance in evaluation) is provided to individual participants and to those who conduct the programs. Feedback consists of having a person see, hear, or feel how others reacted to his performance. Feedback may have evaluative overtones (it usually does to the person performing, because he has expectations for himself), but it may be designed to avoid assessment and evaluation by others. In any case, provisions should exist for participants (trainees and trainers) to initiate and become involved in program change.

5. Programs should foster self-renewal and professional development throughout the person's career. This means that the persons who become engaged in a preparation program should inductively take on high standards of performance for themselves and soon realize that they will need to be involved continuously in preparation (learning and changing) throughout their careers. It further means that participants (trainers and trainees) need to be encouraged and rewarded for assuming responsibility for their own development. In their training, therefore, they should learn to project immediate and long-range goals for themselves and design or select creative and appropriate means for achieving their designated goals. In addition, participants will need to learn how to work effectively with others in the achievement of personal and professional development goals.

6. Programs of staff development should facilitate professional movement and change. As persons engaged in educational work gain experience and expertise, they should be increasingly free to move from one role to another throughout the educational enterprise. Assignment, training, and certification functions should make such movement relatively easy.

The six principles just enumerated hit hard at the problems associated with the application of technology to the educational process in a society which values participation and individual freedom. Taken individually, each principle makes sense and seems relatively easy to apply and implement, but taken collectively the principles are difficult; they conflict or require accommodation one with another. For example, it is possible to broaden the base of participation in program planning by making school organizations and professional associations equal partners with the colleges in program development; electronic communication and rapid transportation make this feasible.

But when programs also are to be individualized, self-developing, and more open and flexible, fundamental change in the whole system seems required. My basic thesis is that fundamental change in the nature of staff development is required and that systems technology, if applied humanely, provides a means for promoting that change.

Institutional Considerations

Assuming that the legal authority for preparation, certification, assignment, and staff development is delegated by the state to the agencies or organizations suggested above through the approval of their programs,¹ what criteria should be applied to programs for their approval and how should institutions respond to such criteria?

The following criteria are suggested:

1. The agencies of teacher education and staff development (colleges, school organizations, and professional associations) will describe agreed-upon arrangements which they have made to insure collaboration in planning and conducting programs.
2. Each agency will furnish evidence of its commitment to the programs in which it is participating. The combined set of agencies will furnish evidence that they have the necessary human and material resources to field the programs for which they are requesting approval.
3. The agencies of teacher education and staff development will describe the roles that holders of each certificate (persons who complete the designated program) are expected to perform. Since sets of agencies across a state have their own unique qualities, since the nature of communities and neighborhoods varies widely, and since arrangements and resources also vary, it is expected that different role descriptions may be written for different teaching and learning situations. Consideration of desirable change in educational practices and settings should always be included in developing role descriptions.
4. The agencies will describe the essential competencies (performance outcomes) required of persons who wish to play the roles described and will differentiate expectations, when appropriate, at various levels (program entry level, intern level, etc.).
5. The agencies will specify the kinds of evidence they will accept as indication that a person has attained the competencies described above which are believed necessary for a person to play a specified role at a given level. For continuing program approval, agencies will describe the nature and extent of research conducted to evaluate the validity of the performance criteria being applied in connection with the listed competencies.

6. The agencies will describe the arrangements made for: a) individualizing programs, b) providing feedback to the participants (trainees and trainers) about their performance, and c) providing feedback to the agencies so that program change can occur.

7. The agencies will describe the agreed-upon arrangements made for recommending a change of a person's certification level.

Self-Developing and Role-Defining

These seven criteria require the agencies of teacher education and staff development to answer the two questions raised at the beginning of this paper. They must make explicit the various role options for which they wish to help people prepare, show how they will organize their collective resources into programs, and then describe how they will assist individuals who choose to engage in a given program to achieve success in that program. There are two levels of decision involved in the application of the principles of program development and the seven criteria for program approval: 1) the institutional, role-defining; and 2) the individual, self-developing.

Illustration: Suppose several preparation agencies in a given geographic area wish to be involved in elementary teacher preparation and, through collaborative discussion and planning, decide to propose five different role (model) definitions for elementary teacher education. What these definitions would consist of, whether or not all five would be available to all students, and the basic nature of preparation arrangements and programs would be institutional (interagency) decisions; assuming, of course, that they meet the criteria established for program approval. The person wanting to become an elementary teacher in the geographic area could choose one of the five programs available or choose not to go ahead with elementary teacher preparation in that geographic area (a go, no-go decision).

Suppose, then, that a person chooses one of the five elementary programs available. He has in effect chosen a set of agreed-upon goals, performance objectives, etc., and the second level of decision making becomes operative. The agencies involved would make available a variety of learning experiences for each objective, and the individual would have almost unlimited freedom in choosing and creating learning experiences which help him achieve criterion-level behavior.²

The real power of this two-level concept is that the acceptance by the trainee and the trainer of agreed-upon goals allows the trainer to move away from telling and directing activities to helping and consulting activities.

Individual Considerations

The key to professionalism in teaching is the establishment in the ethos of the school of a truly professional role for the teacher — a role characterized by decentralization of decision making involving the welfare of clients (students) and a high degree of self-actualization by the teacher regarding the way he plays his role. This means, of course, that the procedures created for preparing teachers have to be consistent with the goals of developing personal responsibility for professional practice, for self-development, for self-renewal.

Assuming that the local community, local school staffs, the organized profession, the academic community, and the citizens of the state impinge upon the role of the teacher, how can the role be opened so that persons playing the role can be freer, more responsible, more idiosyncratic?

The application of systems technology and performance criteria makes this possible: The system requires that the objective of training be clear, that the individual undergoing the training get some notion of where he is in relation to the objectives; that he project and chose a course of action which alters his situation; that he, again, see where he is in relation to the objective and, again, project and choose an action until he achieves a criterion level of performance. The system and the technology should serve the decisions made by the people involved, not vice versa.

The competencies included in the role definitions should be broad-gauged and agreed-upon by the agencies in a preparation consortium. These definitions should provide alternatives in function and style; models operating in various environments should be available to help persons make the role alternatives more real. The institutional constraints on each role need to be as open as they can be so that choice can be forthright.

Once a role has been selected, including the list of competencies and performance criteria, individuals should be free to demonstrate their competence (or to improve their competence) in creative and unique ways. Alternative ways others have used for learning should be available for the individual's choice. If no alternative is available that is suitable for the trainee, he and his trainers should be free to create new alternatives which then can be added to the bank of ideas available to other trainees. In every case, the individual should be able to choose the activities in which he will engage and when he will engage in them. He should be encouraged to establish performance objectives and criteria above and beyond those specified by the agencies of teacher education

and staff development, and then use the resources of these agencies to achieve his own unique standards of performance.

Implied Changes in Teacher Education

If the ideas suggested above are acceptable and desirable, how will teacher education change? The following "from - to" continuum is an attempt to summarize changes which are already apparent:

<i>From:</i>	<i>To:</i>
Preparation for educational service conceived as a college responsibility	Preparation accepted as a mutual responsibility of colleges, school organizations, and professional associations
Program decisions made by a college faculty	Program decisions made by all who are affected
The locus of preparation viewed as being on the college campus	The locus of preparation viewed as being in the schools and their communities
Preparation programs seen as a set of common experiences for all students	Programs seen as a set of common objectives with various and unique experiences
Preparation and staff development viewed as a function of the early part of one's career	Preparation and staff development seen as continuing throughout one's career
Professional career development seen as single-purposed and orderly	Career development seen as multi-purposed and emerging
Competence seen as a set of credentials	Competence seen as the ability to perform
Communication about preparation in a language of courses and credits	Communication in a language of objectives and subsequent performance
Preparation viewed as impersonal and a responsibility of institutions	Preparation viewed as personal and as a responsibility of individuals and colleagues
The role of the teacher viewed as passive and subordinate	The role of the teacher viewed as active and coordinate

<i>From:</i>	<i>To:</i>
Preparation experiences seen as orderly, objective, and logical	Preparation experiences seen as capable of being ordered, subjective as well as objective, psychological as well as rational
Feedback on preparation experiences given at the end of the semester in the form of grades	Feedback given after each experience in a language of objectives and performance
Preparation designed for working in line and staff organizational arrangements	Preparation designed for working in collegial organizational arrangements
The teacher seen as accountable to his principal	The teacher seen as accountable to and for his students (clients)
Voluntary professional associations viewed as being interested only in welfare and fringe benefits	Professional associations viewed as being interested in welfare and in the quality of professional practice
Preparation viewed as screening — ways to exclude people from becoming	Preparation viewed as helping — ways to include people, to help them become

¹An assumption is made here that the state's role is primarily one of insuring that preparation processes are spelled out and that systems remain open. See Edelfelt and Allen's report on the 1967 Seattle conference to examine state department roles, listed in the bibliography that concludes this article.

²The reader should remember that certificates issued through approved programs are state certificates and are, therefore, acceptable for employment in any geographic region of the state and can be valid in all states in accordance with interstate agreements. Since each new assignment brings new learning needs, the individual will need to associate himself with staff development opportunities wherever he lives, to help himself and others with professional improvement and renewal.

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Critique by Lindley J. Stiles

Drummond's paper presents one interesting approach to the development of teaching performance criteria: namely, the application of stems technology. His concern for accomplishing this goal within a democratic context and with preserving the individuality of the teacher should be reassuring to all who fear that achieving accountability for instruction will be dehumanizing. The beliefs and values that underlie Drummond's proposals are sound and acceptable, at least to me. His appeal for democratic participation of all agencies, organizations, and institutions that have a stake in the nature of staff development in the process of defining criteria is appropriate, since without such cooperation change is unlikely to take place. I agree particularly with his premise that teacher preparation — the clinical part, at least — cannot take place in the relative isolation of the campus environment; it needs to be centered in the kinds of schools in which prospective teachers anticipate teaching. My general reactions to the paper are positive and supportive. The author has made a contribution to our thinking about how performance criteria may be developed. The points I make below are intended to offer expansion and possible additional alternatives more than to pick at Drummond's well-reasoned point of view.

I begin with some doubts as to whether institutions that now prepare personnel for education can be expected to lead in the development of performance criteria. Nor are state agencies likely to instigate such changes without strong pressures from those they serve. Institutions and state agencies are more likely to champion the status quo which they have created. To consider different goals or approaches in teacher education and certification is to challenge all they now espouse. Performance criteria are intended to assess the quality of teaching. Existing practices in teacher preparation are based largely on qualitative considerations. Selection procedures, course prescriptions, graduation requirements, certification formulas, accrediting standards, tenure policies, pay scales, and promotion decisions — all are determined in terms of quantitative factors rather than the quality of performance that individuals demonstrate. Lip service is given generously to the idea of quality in teacher education, but when the standards are developed the tendency is to count credits, experience, and

responses more than to assess professional performance. Even so, some schools of education have attempted to change the system. Similarly, some state departments of education have instigated change. Even the federal government is now using its resources to promote new innovations in teacher preparation and practice. It should be said, too, that no change at all will be possible unless these institutions and agencies are actively involved. The challenge is to find the force that can push those responsible for teacher education to widespread action.

Fortunately, one does not have to look far to find pressures for developing performance criteria. The momentum is generating from two sources: from the general public, which is fed up with the lack of accountability in education, and, interestingly, from certain teacher groups who want greater quality in teaching and desire to control their own profession to produce it. Parents and citizens generally have long objected to the unwillingness of the education establishment to evaluate teaching by qualitative standards. They want good teachers recognized and rewarded and deplore the use of pay and promotion formulas that are based on amount of training and years of tenure. The resentment has now reached the point that some school boards, in despair over their inability to obtain a favorable response from employed professionals, are contracting with private companies to provide instructional services. A key feature of such arrangements is that payment is related to results achieved. Professional organizations of teachers are beginning to support the idea of developing and applying performance criteria as a step to full professional recognition. Differentiated staffing has been endorsed as one way of recognizing and utilizing the qualitative talents of different teachers and providing better instructional services to students. In addition, national groups of teachers, particularly those representing subject matter fields at the secondary level, are developing their own knowledge and performance standards as guides for admission to practice. With the pressure from the public and the concern being evidenced by key teacher groups, it seems likely that institutions and agencies responsible for teacher education will be motivated to join in efforts to establish and use performance criteria for evaluating teaching.

One reason that performance criteria have been so long in coming in the field of education has been the practice of describing teaching as one comprehensive function. The tendency has been to view teaching as a set of roles and behaviors common to all teachers regardless of the subject they teach or the kind and age levels of students. This has been true despite the fact that everyone recognizes that teaching advanced mathematics in high school requires a different kind of professional

performance than does teaching art in the fourth grade or coaching a football team. We are coming to realize that teaching economically disadvantaged, minority-group students requires a different kind of teacher behavior than does teaching children from typical middle-class homes. When performance criteria are developed, I believe that they will have more relevance to particular kinds of teaching. For this reason, I see the trend toward groups of teachers of various subject fields proposing their own performance standards as one of considerable promise. It is appropriate, I submit, for teachers of a subject field in elementary and secondary schools to join with scholars in colleges and universities to define what teachers should know and how they should be able to perform in order to qualify for professional practice. It is also appropriate for successful teachers of reading in the inner city to define the criteria by which their performance should be judged.

Performance criteria must give attention to amount of learning produced if they are to have meaning. Schools and teachers can no longer refuse to consider the quality and amount of learning promoted as a key factor in judging the merits of instruction. Many parents consider it the only criterion. It makes little difference how well teachers enact professionally prescribed roles or how liberated teachers may feel about their work if students fail to learn. Society is no longer content, nor can it afford for schools to maintain curricular and instructional programs that do not promote maximum learning for individual students in terms of individual capacities.

Contemporary enthusiasm for the use of behavioral objectives has produced a cult of educational advocates that claims to be concerned with only an individual's behavior. If such an approach is used in applying performance criteria to evaluate teaching, the focus will be exclusively on the overt behavior of the teacher in the classroom. Little attention will be given to what the teacher knows, or the values he espouses, since evaluation will be made only in terms of what he or she does. For one, I hope that such a superficial approach will never distort efforts to establish performance criteria for teaching. As everyone knows, it is possible for an individual to imitate teaching behavior without understanding its purpose or knowing much about the skills, values, and knowledges that students are expected to learn. Teachers who learn how to perform without learning why they do certain acts are not professionals; let them confront a new problem in learning and they are lost. My hope is that as performance criteria are developed they will give attention to what a teacher should know as a base for professional practice. Such knowledge should include the kinds of information, insights, values, and skills that comprise a good liberal

education as well as the specialized knowledge of a subject field necessary to teach. It should also encompass foundational knowledge about education and its processes that every professional teacher should possess. Contrary to the extremist view of the behaviorists, possession of knowledge can be measured. Oral and written examinations can reveal whether a person knows enough about a subject field to be trusted to interpret it to students. Such assessments are needed since many who accumulate the required numbers of credits do not actually know enough to teach.

Teaching performance itself must be judged under actual teaching conditions. I say *judged* because it cannot be measured by absolute objective instruments, as some teachers' organizations demand be done. The criteria developed for particular kinds of teachers must be applied as a guide to assessing the quality of performance. The process is one of professional judgment. The question of who should make the judgment is one about which controversy generates. My conviction is that teachers, themselves, the professionals in a certain kind of teaching, must take this responsibility. They may enlist help from scholars in the discipline, experts in teacher education, or others, but the responsibility for developing and applying performance criteria remains the key obligation of those who teach in an area. As in other professions, the successful practitioners will define the standards of practice and apply them as the criteria for judging admission to the profession. Undoubtedly, teams of professionals will be used to judge individual qualifications and performance at particular stages of development, such as admission to initial practice and advancement to professional standing or levels of expertise. Certainly tenure in a school system should be based largely on professional judgments by peer professionals as should other types of advancement, recognition, and reward.

The provision for professional growth as Drummond says, should be taken into account by the performance criteria established. One might divide the development of a teacher into a number of distinct stages, for example, each of which has its own characteristic behaviors. A first stage is one of *pre-internship*, when the individual is proving that he is well enough educated and knows enough to teach a particular subject to specified types and ages of students. Here the assessment will involve personal qualities that teachers should possess, such as attitudes, values, and human relationships, as well as scholarly attainments. This would be the first stage of elimination for those who did not meet the criteria established. A second stage would be the *internship* or period of clinical training during which an individual learns to perform as a teacher under close supervision of master teachers. A third level of professional

performance might be called that of *associate teacher*, which is the stage which beginning teachers usually have reached. At this point the individual will be able to perform most of the functions of teaching successfully but may need help with difficult or unusual problems. When one is able to function independently as a teacher without supervision, he or she has reached the next stage — that of *professional teacher*. Other levels of competence might be identified. A *specialist* category, for example, could be used to designate all personnel who had been judged highly qualified in some phase of teaching or educational work. Criteria established should identify the kinds of professional service that each level of performance is expected to provide. The application process would allow individuals to pass from one level of performance to another as rapidly as individual development permits. The test would be one's knowledge and ability to apply it, rather than the number of credits accumulated or the years of tenure, as is the present practice.

Drummond properly emphasizes that performance criteria cannot be developed without a clear definition of the goals to be achieved. I believe that goal definition starts with the learning that is expected of students. Whether the student learns is the foremost and final test of teaching. For different students different definitions of satisfactory progress in learning need to be developed. Cultural and other environmental forces that operate on students make it imperative that learning progress be described in terms of each learning situation. When this has been done it becomes possible to analyze the contributions that teachers can make to student learning. If successful teaching is related to student learning in particular situations, then it holds that performance criteria need to provide for the assessment of teaching behavior in relationship to its own environment. Good teaching will have to be described in terms of particular students in specific school and community situations. This means that one teacher who may be extremely successful in a ghetto school may not be effective at all in a suburban school situation, and vice versa. Unlike building bricks, teachers may not be professionally transferable from one school to another. If this is true, teachers need to be prepared for particular kinds of teaching as well as to teach specific subjects and skills. Implied is the need for reform in assignment and transfer practices in school systems and for teacher negotiations to confront this reality.

The use of performance criteria aims to answer the key educational question: *Who is a good teacher?* I believe the question must be answered in terms of particularized teaching situations, with respect to specific teaching fields, and with regard to different levels of profes-

al development and service. I am convinced that it must be answered by teachers, themselves, who have responsibility to the public for the quality of their performance. The answer will come, I predict, in the form of pooled professional judgments based on performance criteria that good teachers who are engaged in particular kinds of teaching have formulated. When such definitions of good teaching are available, all engaged in teacher education will have reliable guidelines for their efforts. Without such definitions, teacher education will continue to be concerned with quantitative matters rather than with the development of quality teachers.

The Meaning and Application of Differentiated Staffing In Teaching

By James L. Olivero

Differentiated staffing remains a relatively recent innovation; as such, it is still fair game for any and all who wish to apply their own definitions and interpretations. Yet some commonalities do exist in most differentiated staffing patterns and they will be described here.

One definition that we particularly like was offered by Don Barbee. Like most good definitions, it is simple and straightforward: "Differentiated staffing is a concept of organization that seeks to make better use of educational personnel. Teachers and other educators assume different responsibilities based on carefully prepared definitions of the many teaching functions. The differential assignment of educational personnel goes beyond traditional staff allocations based on common subject matter distinctions and grade level arrangements and seeks new ways of analyzing essential teaching tasks and creative means of implementing new educational roles."¹

Like team teaching, individualized instruction, and flexible scheduling, the term differentiated staffing calls to mind a variety of notions, depending upon one's experience. Perhaps the only consistent elements in any differentiated staffing scheme are job responsibilities, functions, and rewards (typically monetary).

Usually, the solution to a problem has its beginnings in a statement of the various factors involved. In the case of differentiated staffing, perhaps definitions and prospective models can be suggested by examining some of the following questions:

What rationale needs to be developed for differentiated staffing?

Will differentiated staffing help improve instruction?

How might roles be differentiated? How can levels of difficulty in teaching be established? Will differentiated staffing create new teaching or managerial roles?

How can responsibility be categorized by levels of difficulty and importance?

How can differentiated staffing be evaluated?

What are the arguments against or reservations about differentiated staffing?

How is greater administrivia short-circuited when roles are differentiated?

How important might differentiated staffing be in providing career patterns, attracting and holding able teachers, providing adequate salaries, fitting a pattern of teacher education, providing different entry points into teaching, acknowledging competency?

A nationally recognized model of differentiated staffing is that which has been adopted by the Temple City (Calif.) schools. Temple City capitalizes on functions already existing in many schools, but formalizes them into a four-level teacher hierarchy. In the figure below,² the Associate Teacher, a novice, has a "learning schedule" and less demanding responsibilities; the Staff Teacher has a full teaching load and is aided by clerks, technicians, and paraprofessionals; the Senior Teacher, a "learning engineer" or methodological expert in a subject, discipline, or skill area, teaches three-quarters of his time; the Master Teacher is a scholar and research specialist who teaches two-fifths time but also has curriculum expertise enabling him to translate learning research theory into workable classroom practices. The essentials can be summarized in a table as follows:

TENURE <i>Associate Teacher:</i>	TENURE <i>Staff Teacher:</i>	NON-TENURE <i>Senior Teacher:</i>	NON-TENURE <i>Master Teacher:</i>
A.B. or Intern: 100% Teaching: 1-10 Months	B.A. Degree and State Credential: 100% Teaching Responsibilities: 10 Months	M.S. or Equivalent: 3/5's Staff Teaching Responsibilities: 10-11 Months	Doctorate or Equivalent; 2/5's Staff Teaching Responsibilities; 12 Months

Academic Assistants (A.A. Degree or Equivalent)
Educational Technicians
Clerks

Why all the recent discussion about differentiated staffing? For one thing, many people are convinced we have perpetuated for far too long a number of false notions about the teaching and learning acts. Specifically, some educators, legislators, students, and parents believe we have fostered and maintained the following assumptions:

1. All educators are omni-capable.
2. All educators are more alike than different.
3. The only way to reward educators is via the single-salary schedule wherein personnel are rewarded for growing older on the job.
4. It is impossible to assess the relationship between teaching and learning.
5. Professional educators are unable to "monitor" themselves.

Most of our present-day education is organized in such a way as to perpetuate each of these ideas. But if just one of the statements is false, we should examine ourselves and our profession very closely.

Don't we expect most educators to be clerks, scholars, secretaries, accountants, policemen, counselors? Don't we find the single-salary schedule the method most widely used to provide salary increments? Aren't the increments often totally unrelated to teaching effectiveness? Don't we have too many people carping about the futility of relating learning to teaching practice? Aren't there few examples of professional associations vigorously seeking to establish procedures for determining the accountability of their members?

With different degrees of emphasis, we must answer "yes" to each of the foregoing questions. If educators become more concerned about accountability and responsibility for educational outcomes, perhaps the "yes" can be changed to a "no."

President Richard Nixon, among others, is calling for greater accountability. In his March 3, 1970, message on educational reform, he said, "We have as a nation too long avoided thinking of the productivity of schools." Former Commissioner James E. Allen has also said, "The people have a right to be assured that the increasingly large investments in public education that will be called for will produce results. They can no longer be satisfied with definitions of school quality that focus primarily on such factors as per-pupil expenditures, pupil-teacher ratios, and teacher salary levels."

Education already is replete with case examples where "more" has been added — more money, more equipment, more personnel, more flexibility. All too often the only result has been more failures.

Some pundits are proclaiming differentiated staffing as the only true path to accountability and the only panacea for all the ills of American education. They are wrong, of course. At best, differentiated staffing is only another alternative which *may* help to solve some of our problems. We must not take refuge in the false hope that it is the only answer.

If space permitted, I would present here a paradigm of a pupil-oriented and individualized system of education. Because there isn't space, I must concentrate on a description of differentiated staffing as part of the paradigm.

We begin with an assessment of student needs. This is far from being easy; those who have attempted to state precise learning objectives in terms of performance outcomes can attest to its difficulty. Only when learning objectives are determined, however, can decisions be made about the roles that educators might play. Those involved in the "needs assessment" should concern themselves with the following questions:

1. What philosophy about students undergirds the educational program?
2. What behaviors do students bring with them to school, and how can we diagnose students' needs?
3. What performance criteria can be established to show when we have met the students' needs?
4. How can relevant content be found to assist in the task of meeting performance objectives?
5. What instructional strategies are most powerful?

Role differentiation should evolve from answers to the preceding questions. Two apparent gross differences are already recognizable, even at this preliminary stage of development for "differentiated concepts."

One pattern is illustrated in Charts 1 and 2. These plans depict a hierarchical pattern with a wide range of competencies. (A second pattern is one promoted by some representatives of the American Federation of Teachers,³ and suggests a more horizontal differentiation of roles.) The first pattern outlines differences of responsibility with commensurate reallocations of fiscal resources, while the second defines differences in roles but promotes the assumption that all positions are significant and that remuneration should be made on the basis of levels of education and experience, not on the basis of role performance.

The arguments about which approach is best are not easily resolvable; my contention is that whichever approach is clearly thought through by the parents-students-educators in the district is the one that should be accepted and implemented. National or state teacher organizations may identify patterns consistent with organizational policies, but local situations may call for modifications. Models already operable in such places as Beaverton, Ore.; Kansas City, Mo.; Montgomery County, Md.; and Temple City, Calif., have come under fire from outsiders. It is possible that the critics are allowing their biases to obscure their objectivity. What is best for Temple City may be totally unworkable somewhere else.

Following role definition, training programs are established to help staff personnel prepare for their roles. Often such programs are considered an in-service function; but development of the concept of differentiated staffing must begin at the pre-service level. We must begin

practicing what we have long preached concerning continuing education of teachers.

Once roles have been defined and training programs conceived and implemented, performance criteria related to accountability and responsibility factors should be determined and instituted. Teacher associations verbally support the ideas inherent in the concepts of accountability. For example, the Association for Classroom Teachers of the National Education Association has prepared a resolution stating in part:

The Department [ACT] maintains that evaluation of teaching and administration for the improvement of instruction is a major responsibility of the teaching profession.

The Department believes that evaluation should be based primarily upon performance of the teaching and administrative tasks in relation to the specified situation in which the tasks are performed....⁴

The American Federation of Teachers likewise has prepared statements supporting the need for accountability in education.⁵

Unfortunately, neither organization has as yet seriously addressed itself to the major tasks of answering the three important questions that typically cause difficulties in districts which think through differentiated staffing possibilities. Those questions are:

1. What criteria will be used to assess performance effectiveness?
2. Who will do the evaluations?
3. What procedures will be used to get at the preceding questions?

Granting that the questions are not answered easily, it is nevertheless very likely that if educators do not take the initiative to provide responses, school boards and/or state legislators will. (This possibility is being realized already in legislation recently enacted in Alabama and South Dakota and in Report Number 1 prepared by the Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education.⁶)

The real need, of course, is for the education profession to assume the responsibility itself. If the profession cannot assess its own performance in a cooperative, responsible fashion, then it has no business making routine evaluations of student performances every day.

Many educators endorse the concepts which undergird differentiated staffing but remain apprehensive about issues they must face if they want to adopt a plan in their own schools. Concerns most often expressed are:

1. Differentiated staffing becomes an end rather than a means.
2. It evolves into a system with a more rigid hierarchy than that which now exists.

3. It depends on currently available personnel without attempting to identify new roles, new training programs, and new personnel.
4. Differentiated staffing is a cover-up for merit pay schemes.
5. Differentiated staffing organizations promote concepts of superiority of performance on one hand and unsatisfactory performance on the other.
6. Differentiated staffing patterns are established which assign responsibility but fail to offer opportunities for shared decision making.
7. Differentiated staffing patterns require changes in behavior.

Conceivably, differentiated staffing could perpetuate a sin that already haunts us: "promoting" good teachers out of the classroom. The purpose of differentiated staffing should be to bring to bear the best competencies we can identify on meeting the needs of students. If the necessary precautions are not taken, we might find leaders dissipating their energies on additional administrative chores of doubtful value rather than exerting positive influences through the diagnosis of student learning needs and appropriate prescriptions for meeting those needs.

If differentiated staffing is to become a reality, we need to identify new types of personnel. In addition to those who already fill various roles, we likely will find functions that can be handled by supra-professionals such as physicists and chemists who have specific qualifications beyond the training of most teachers. These individuals may participate as educational leaders in the schools only two or three hours each week. On the other hand are the paraprofessionals. Considerable difficulty has been experienced with the relatively simple task of identifying, training, and installing teacher aides. Redefining certification and credentialing requirements are not simple tasks. Some educators may decide that the benefits simply are not worth the effort, particularly when they realize how few models are available and how dangerous pioneering is.

Many educators look upon differentiated staffing as merit pay in disguise, and indeed they are right if everyone in the educational establishment is expected to perform essentially the same tasks and carry equal responsibilities. In the three types of merit pay schemes identified by the NEA,⁷ all teachers are expected to fill similar roles, with salary increments being given for especially meritorious service. Differentiated staffing patterns with concomitant differentiations in fiscal rewards for differences in responsibilities are not merit pay schemes.

Legislators in Alabama and South Dakota who passed the laws mentioned above probably had differentiated staffing in mind, but in their zeal to establish accountability guidelines they more or less mandated merit pay schedules. Many educators in those states are now

involved in "instant" long-range planning, attempting to make sense out of new legislation.

Another factor that causes some anxiety is past experience with pseudo team-teaching projects. In some instances, the teaching teams were so organized that some team positions were considered superior to others; and if one individual on the team failed to be named the leader, he felt he had an inferior function. Personality conflicts inevitably developed, resulting in dissolution of many teams.

If the oft-repeated statement is true that differentiated staffing is little more than glorified team teaching, then there is ample cause for concern; this is particularly true if one role is considered to be superior to another. Most advocates of differentiated staffing maintain that all roles are equally important, but that some participants may wish to assume greater responsibility and should, therefore, receive increased fiscal rewards. It must be emphasized that each member of the staff has significant input to make. Like the proverbial chain, the staff is no stronger than the individual member.

The responsibility question is important. Administrators, particularly those in larger school districts, argue that while teachers claim they want to be involved in decision-making activities, those same teachers, when the pressure is on, avoid assuming responsibility for decisions. This contention should be fairly easy to assess in the years ahead, because teacher organizations are becoming increasingly powerful in the political arena and are making their opinions felt in a number of new areas.

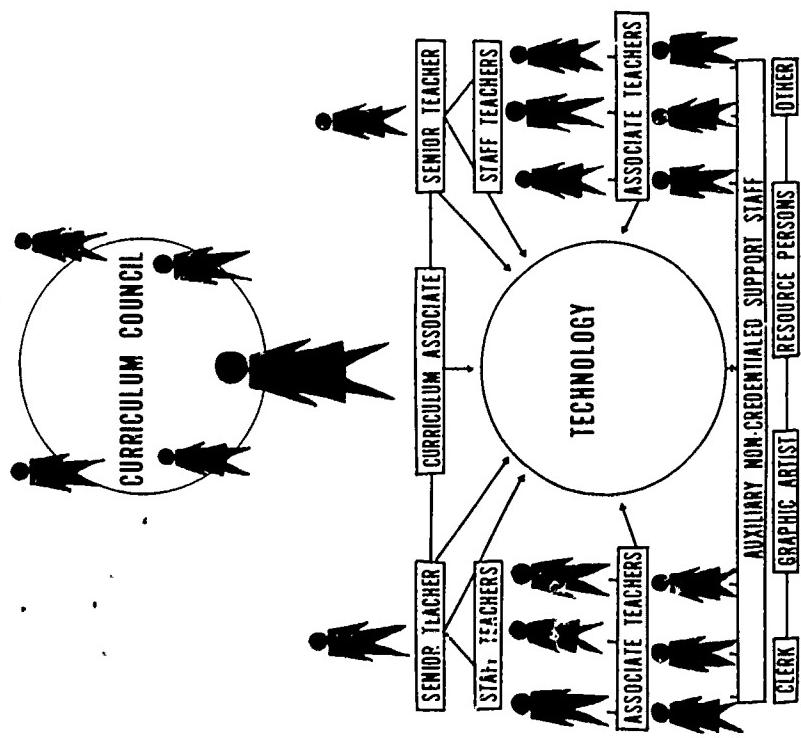
Finally, differentiated staffing requires change. While much has been written about the change process, perhaps the only thing we really know about change is that it is necessary as well as continuous. It remains to be seen whether educators can move away from a fairly comfortable existence through a retread process to student-oriented rather than expedience-oriented education.

From the foregoing, it should be obvious that two of the outstanding features of a typical differentiated role pattern are: 1) responsibility at least comparable to accountability pressures imposed upon the teacher, and 2) the specific, blueprinted opportunity for career pro.notion for teachers through staff-level diversification as a means of avoiding "the flatness of teaching... the same routines year after year."⁸

As Dwight Allen⁹ points out, there are at least three conditions essential in any differentiated staffing pattern: 1) a minimum of three staff teaching levels, each having a different salary range; 2) a maximum salary at the top teaching category that is at least double the maximum

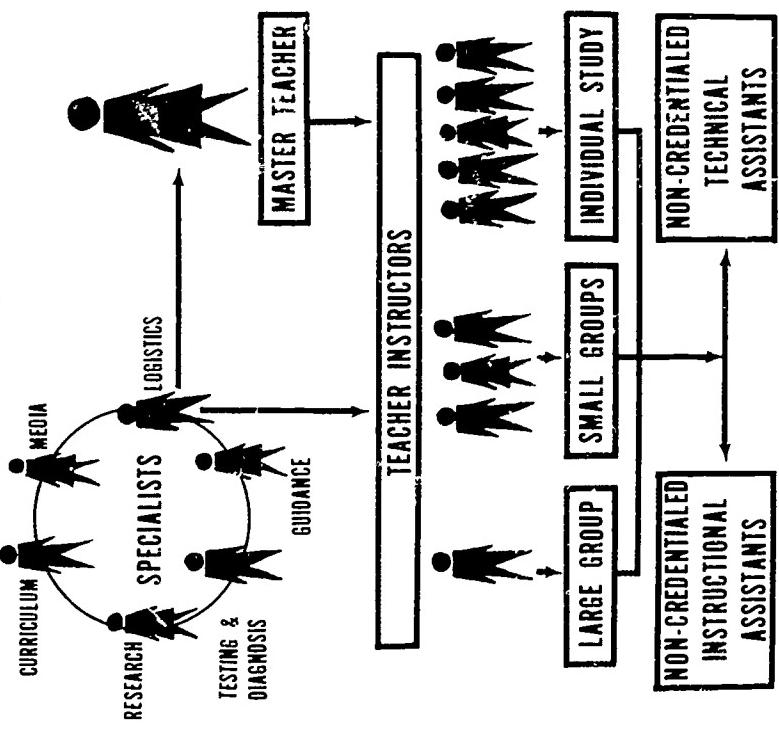
DIFFERENTIATED STAFF

[Chart #1]



DIFFERENTIATED STAFF

[Chart #2]



at the lowest; 3) substantial direct teaching responsibility for all teachers at all salary levels, including those in the top bracket.

Through these means, Allen says, good teachers, who deserve as much money as administrators, will be able to afford a career in classroom teaching; and the school will regain some control over apportioning money previously pledged to perpetuating salary increases resulting from tenure, longevity, and other "automatic" promotion practices.

Given the anxieties that many educators possess relative to differentiated staffing, many of the associated ideas are reasonable and logically substantive. Many past "innovations" have had sound theoretical support, but the empirical tests terminated with the conclusion, "No significant differences."

With the challenge of accountability squarely on the shoulders of educators, the time is right to explore well-conceived plans. From my biased point of view, the well-conceived plan must have, at a minimum, the ingredients indicated on this list:

Assessment of Student Needs

Definition of Roles

Training for Differentiated Roles

Evaluation of Performance

Reward System

Even the strongest arguments supporting differentiated staffing patterns seldom take the position of unqualified endorsement. Most couch their analyses of various plans in terms of those offered by Florida Superintendent Floyd T. Christian:

Differentiated staffing is *one emerging educational plan* which purports to have significant advantages for improving the traditional system of school organization and should remain highly exploratory. Dramatic action should be taken without delay to understand the implications of this concept before unqualified endorsements are made.¹⁰

Early in this article I listed some false assumptions which I believe educators have perpetuated in terms of both teachers and students. If the reader accepts any one of these assumptions as false, there is need

to explore new alternatives. Differentiated staffing is clearly one of those alternatives.

¹Don Barbee, "Differentiated Staffing: Expectations and Pitfalls," *TEPS Write-in Paper No. 1 on Flexible Staffing Patterns* Washington, D. C.: National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, March, 1969.

²J. L. Olivero and Edward Buffie, *New Careers in Teaching: The Temple City Story* Temple City, Calif.: Temple City Unified School District, 1969, 10 pp.

³David Selden and Robert Bhaerman, "Instructional Technology and the Teaching Profession," *The Record*, February, 1970 pp. 319-406.

⁴National Education Association, *Research Memo*, April, 1968.

⁵Selden and Bhaerman, *op. cit*

⁶Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education, *Teacher Certification and Performance in Massachusetts, Report: Number 1*. Boston. The Council, June, 1968.

⁷National Education Association, *op. cit*.

⁸Robert Bush, comments made at New Orleans Conference of R & D Centers and Regional Laboratories, December, 1969.

⁹Dwight W. Allen, "A Differentiated Staff: Putting Teacher Talent to Work," *The Teacher and His Staff, Occasional Paper No. 1*. Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, December, 1967, pp. 6-8.

¹⁰Floyd T. Christian, *State Commissioner Speaks on Flexible Staff Utilization: A Position Statement on the Concept of Differentiated Staffing*. Tallahassee, Fla.: Department of Education, 1969, 7 pp.

Critique by J. Alden Vanderpool

Who is a teacher? A mother teaching her child to make the "sh" sound? The peer who teaches the use of a hypodermic needle? The friend who gives lessons in sex education — behind the barn?

Defining who is a teacher has plagued those who call themselves teachers at least since it became important to be a member of a "profession" and in possession of the mysteries of that profession. Who is a physician, a nurse, an attorney, a barber, an engineer? The same question has plagued the "professions."

Of course, for all, the question inevitably is answered by statute. Attorneys (usually in control of legislatures) protect themselves from competition through elaborate initiation rights, controls, and punishments. Legislatures have acceded to similar demands for other groups ranging (in California) from beauticians to cemetery plot salesmen. Statutory controls determine who may practice.

Except for teachers, these controls are in the hands of practitioners. Except for teachers, there is little statutory evidence that attorneys in the legislatures are disturbed by ogres of "professional control" of institutions in which their colleagues serve. The entire court system is "public"; legions of engineers, physicians, and attorneys are public employees, yet qualifications to hold posts in public service as attorneys, engineers, and physicians are controlled by attorneys, engineers, and physicians through their licensure boards.

Teachers seek equity. The hackneyed arguments about "turning the schools over to teachers" serve now only to keep control where it has been — in the hands of that breed of school administrators who see their fiefdoms threatened; in the hands of legislators who are willing to use the statutes to control entrance into service in one public institution but not to control entrance into service in the public institutions in which a powerful group of their own colleagues serve. Of course, the argument is always "elevated" to a matter of principle — for the other fellow.

The drive by teachers to achieve parity with the other professions in control of entrance into practice is slowed by the unanswered question, "Who is a teacher?" Are aides teachers? Are superintendents teachers? Are college professors teachers? Are college deans teachers? Are *all*

those who are distributed along any continuum of differentiated staffing teachers? To consider differentiated staffing without including at least a working, temporary answer to this question may be counterproductive.

Some current concerns about differentiated staffing smack of "territorial imperatives." Watch a group of administrators as they file into a meeting past a table on which is prominently displayed the publication, *The Teacher and His Staff*.¹ Double-takes are obvious — "What teacher's staff?" "Administrators have staffs, not teachers," is almost audible.

Some concerns result from ignoring the fact that differentiated staffing has been around for a long time. Viewing the school staff as a whole, positions have become increasingly "differentiated out." Indeed, they proliferate. Additions to this list are easily enumerated: superintendent, associate superintendent, assistant superintendent, business manager, principal, supervisor, coordinator, vice-principal, counselor, school nurse, sixth-grade teacher, kindergarten teacher, and home economics teacher. All these represent responses to the need to differentiate among the roles formerly thought to be discharged by Hopkins at his end of the log or by the worthy dame of the "Dame School." The vast and least differentiated staff is composed of teachers in the self-contained classroom of the elementary school. Efforts to recognize real differences in the range of roles and to provide for their more expert discharge by members of this group is but the latest in a series of differentiations. No doubt some of the same concerns now being voiced about differentiated staffing were voiced when the role of the "principal teacher" began to be sorted out.

Previous differentiation of roles now tagged "administrative," and subsequent status differentiation, have resulted in removal of talented people from the fulcrum -- the classroom -- and merely reflect the values forced upon schools by the military-industrial complex. (The use of that phrase, by the way, antedates by decades its present connotations.) The idea that there must be generals and footsoldiers, assembly-line workers and company presidents, has simply permeated the organizational scheme for schools. After all, haven't there always been peasants and nobles?

It should come as no shock to historians that the peasants eventually become restless. After all, they grow the food gracing the noble's table. They breed and tend his animals and make his clothing. Aren't they at the fulcrum of the enterprise? At least some of those who advocate that the historical pattern of staff differentiation be extended seek a larger share of authority regarding the enterprise which depends so heavily upon them. At least some of those who "view with alarm" may be

trapped in a position trade unions have sometimes found themselves in: Oppose change because it threatens practices honored mostly by time.

Schools have largely ignored the industrial revolution and subsequent moves from "manpower intensive" enterprises to "capital intensive" enterprises. But "cottage industries" or "manpower intensive" industries continue to be transformed into "capital intensive" industries. Witness to this stand textiles, coal mining, and agriculture, to name only three. The assumption proved false was that the only way to increase both: quality and quantity of production was to increase the degree of manpower intensity. When organized workers forced up the price of their services and increased production became imperative, capital flowed in to change the balance of manpower-capital intensity away from manpower. An expanding need for production kept the manpower force growing and employed.

Even the sacred preserves of medicine are being encroached upon – partly in response to the high cost of expert services. Further differentiation of staffing in all the health services proceeds. Infusion of capital in a direct effort to increase the effectiveness of the highly skilled personnel is evident. Capital is being used to bring changes toward the use of technology not only to aid the expert, but to replace elements of his service. Complex technological devices to monitor and record vital functions and make complex analyses are obvious examples. Coupled with assignment of lower-order functions to personnel with lower-order skills, the physician is freed to do what only a physician can do.

It seems evident that the need for more productive educational services will continue to increase, the population plateau notwithstanding. It seems a deliberate strategy on the part of the federal government to infuse capital into public educational enterprises but not to infuse this capital in such a way as to increase the manpower-intensity factor. Rather, inducements have been extended to industries to bring to bear on education their experience with reducing the manpower intensity factor. So far, this process seems delayed momentarily until "software" can be produced to match the "hardware." Perhaps, however, the delay may really be caused by inappropriateness of the attempt to draw upon the experience of industry. Large portions of it may prove to be nontransferable.

The dimensions of differentiated staffing resulting from a shift to "capital intensive" rather than "manpower intensive" are largely ignored. In spite of possible limitations, its effects probably will be far-reaching.

Infusion of capital may produce teaching and learning strategies and technologies in some areas which may be served adequately with less

attention from the most highly skilled personnel at point of delivery: contact with learners. This could produce another kind of differentiation which could elevate some teaching to very highly skilled levels. Differentiation between assisting with some aspects of teaching-learning as distinguished from others may produce demands for significantly different levels of skill, knowledge, insight, sensitivity, experience, and control.

Some tasks now labeled "teaching" actually may be little more than rudimentary. Indeed, they may be performed by machines or by persons with skills at a lower order. Many tasks remain which demand very high levels of performance, levels attainable only by relatively few of those who are now drawn to teaching. Typically, large numbers of persons able to perform highly complex and demanding tasks are not drawn to teaching, however, because their abilities go unrewarded in teaching's flat trajectory of status and reward. The higher-order tasks go neglected or are differentiated out into higher status-reward positions removed from continuing contact with learners. Differentiated staffing offers promise of changing the nature of the trajectory of teaching careers. Many people feel that this holds considerable potential for attracting more of the most able people into teaching and for keeping them in vital and significant contact with learners and learning.

Finally, the question, "Who is a teacher?" may fade in relative significance. The question eventually might be "How can learning best be served?" - by all who serve in educational institutions, public and private, be they aides, teachers, technicians, or something else. Hopefully, utilization of capital to escape the "cottage industry" syndrome will accelerate historical differentiation and breach the citadel, the self-contained classroom, better to serve learning.

Teacher organizations face crucial decisions resulting from accelerating differentiated staffing. Shall they opt to serve only the "elite," to serve those clearly functioning in roles which demand very high levels of skill, knowledge, and sensitivity? Shall they include all those who serve in organized institutions devoted to teaching and learning or shall they include aides, teachers, assistant teachers, teaching technologists, or others by whatever title?

To date these questions are being given different answers. Will this lead to the fragmentation and "territorial imperatives" characterizing the organizations in, for example, the health services? Will this promote more effective teaching/learning?

¹National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, *The Teacher and His Staff: Differentiating Teaching Roles*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1969.

The Profession's Quest for Responsibility and Accountability

By D. D. Darland

George Bernard Shaw once noted that there are five major ways in which civilizations go wrong: by falling out of date in their economics, politics, science, education, and religion. What happens in each of these five areas depends a great deal upon teaching.

Never has so much been expected of teachers in this country. New conditions and demands have multiplied to produce a national crisis in education. Accordingly, the American teacher has become a most likely candidate for scapegoat of the 1970's. Evidence can be seen in the current drive to hold teachers responsible for assuring quality education in our schools. Indeed, this movement called accountability has all the characteristics of a panacea, and one which it appears difficult to fault. Quite generally, demands for teacher accountability are accompanied by blunt threats that if teachers don't achieve this, others will. This is the time-honored strategy to force conformity by threatening reprisals by legislatures, the public, or the federal government. It is, at best or worst, poor psychology.

After all, why shouldn't a teacher be accountable? What could possibly be more reasonable? One USOE official predicts the following:

Teacher training institutions and local school systems will be accountable to the community for the quality of educational services delivered, and teachers will be accountable for what children learn.¹

The use of the word "will" in the quote should be noted. There is widespread acceptance among teachers, and fortunately so, that neither they nor their profession is in a position to assume very much responsibility either for assuring quality education or, in many cases, even quality teaching. They do not, however, deny the urgency of the problem. The president of the National Education Association has noted:

It is pure myth that a classroom teacher can even be held accountable, with justice, under existing conditions. The classroom teacher has either too little control or no control over the factors which might render accountability either feasible or fair.²

For a society to provide and assure quality education requires a whole series of interrelated guarantees, including adequate finance; wise administration and organization; optimum social policy, facilities, and equipment; parental involvement; and the maintenance of adequate educational manpower. Assuring quality education then requires a whole series of groups, agencies, and institutions being held accountable, not the least being the individual citizen.

Obviously, it is impossible in a short space to deal with all aspects of accountability for quality education. Therefore, this discussion is limited to one imperative – namely, what needs to be done before the teaching profession can become accountable for guaranteeing competent performance and ethical behavior for its members. Even when the profession arrives at such a point, it should be obvious that the guarantee, while a giant step forward, is only one of the necessary aspects of quality education for children and youth. It would enable the profession to pinpoint and fix other responsibilities related to delivering quality education. And more important, it would establish clearly some perimeters of responsibility. Teachers cannot be all things to all people.

What Is the Profession?

If the teaching profession is to move toward assuming accountability for competent and ethical teachers, it is essential to delineate what is meant by the teaching profession. The teaching profession is not a simple organization but rather a complex composed of persons functioning in a variety of capacities – in selected agencies, institutions, and organizations designed for specific purposes. These include:

1. Those who teach or carry out other professional activities in preschool programs and in elementary and secondary schools.
2. Those who teach or carry out other professional activities in colleges and universities.
3. Professional personnel in state departments of education and other governmental agencies, such as the U.S. Office of Education.
4. Professional personnel in organizations directly related to teaching at any level.

5. Professional personnel in voluntary accrediting agencies involved with accreditation of educational institutions.³

Very little thought has been given to creating a physiology of the teaching profession. The collective organic processes required for teaching to be an accountable profession are not in existence. Instead, certain segments of the profession are very likely to see themselves as the one imperative rather than perceiving that to function as a professional entity requires the development of a variety of interrelated functions, each working toward similar goals but also acting as a check and balance on the others.

Accountability and Responsibility

If a profession is to be accountable for its own, obviously it must have some form of self-governance. Such is not the case as yet for teaching, although the process of establishing such self-governance has been under way for many years. The legal right for local organizations of teachers to bargain collectively with school boards is one aspect of such governance. Although seen by teachers as an imperative function, bargaining has not become universally accepted. In many cases it is underdeveloped. The process will continue to mature, and numerous sophisticated models exist. Ultimately, professional governance will require other internal procedures and machinery, including better established legal rights and responsibilities.

The NEA holds, as a beginning, that the profession must have authority for the following:

1. Issuing, suspending, revoking, or reinstating the legal license for educational personnel.
2. Establishing and administering standards of professional practice and ethics for all educational personnel.
3. Accrediting teacher preparation institutions.
4. Governing the in-service and continuing education programs for teachers.

To accord the teaching profession such authority has legislative implications for every state. Some 16 states have enacted legislation related mostly to practices and ethics (professional practice acts). These acts create independent practice commissions. In some states these acts are beginning to function in responsible ways. However, some of these laws are very weak in that they do not provide for means of financing

or powers of subpoena. They are simply paper tigers. In at least one case, the commission is becoming more of a political arm of the governor than a professional body designed to protect the public welfare and the profession.

There is great reluctance toward giving the teaching profession the legal control over entrance to the profession, but a start has been made. Some 16 states have certification review boards. These boards represent an effort to involve the profession in making exceptions where deviations from precise prescriptions are deemed wise.⁴ Also all states now have some form of advisory body (usually called a council) on teacher education and certification. Some even have two such bodies. In 30 states these bodies are voluntary and extralegal; in 14 states they are created by law. In the remaining states, varied practices are followed with reference to advisory bodies.⁵

Oregon is somewhat unusual in this regard, in that it has a legally stratified teacher standards and practices commission which can deal with both certification and practices, but it is still only advisory. Maryland's new certification regulations include an Advisory Professional Standards Board; Washington has a new plan whereby the state education legal authority describes only in general terms the essentials of preparation programs and then, through involvement of colleges, associations, and school districts, precise programs are developed for individuals. This approach probably has gone the furthest toward the concept of performance criteria rather than the traditional use of courses and credits for initial licensure of teachers. However, the chief state education agencies (but for a very few exceptions where certification power is shared by the state and a city or district) still wield the power over entrance to the teaching profession. This may be as it should be, but evidently not in the thinking of educators. A recent survey of NEA members⁶ reported that 90% responded "yes" to the question, "Should a state board composed of educators establish standards for teacher preparation?"

It does appear illogical to ask a profession, especially classroom teachers within it, to be accountable when such persons are little involved with developing controls over entry into the profession. Currently the conglomerate state-by-state approaches to professional governance result in much confusion and frustration. Progress toward national approaches to the problem is very slow. Examples: What about national reciprocity for certification? Should the teaching profession move toward national certification? What about reciprocity for retirement?

An Evolving National Effort

The NEA is mounting a national effort to bring about the necessary legislation in each state whereby the profession approves programs, issues licenses, enforces standards of ethics and practice, and promotes studies and research designed to improve teacher education, including initial entry programs and continuing education.

The NEA is saying that if a profession is to be accountable, why not delegate the responsibilities which are concomitant with being accountable? For a legislature to delegate such a right to a profession is not to give up the right, but rather to place responsibility with those directly involved. Moreover, there is always the right of legislative review.

Invariably the question is asked, "How would a professional board dealing with licensure, accreditation, etc., be any better than the present procedure?" One answer is that the existence of such a board would remove any valid argument for the profession not to be held accountable for the performance of its members. But far more important, practitioners in the field would be in a position to participate in the establishment of policies related directly to their continuing needs and problems. In this regard, teachers and all school personnel are too often placed in the position of having something done for them or to them rather than having decision-making powers in professional matters. This is a very critical issue and one that is complicated by our failure to distinguish between the control of education and the governing of a profession. Equally disconcerting is the internal power struggle among the various segments of the teaching profession itself. Many would seemingly rather continue to depend upon the benevolence of the educational establishment — upon state and local boards' decision-making powers over entrance and all that this implies.

Often those persons in the profession who hold this point of view in reality do control such entrance through their relationship to lay boards. However this arrangement is a shortsighted solution which neglects the total problem. The teacher who has to obtain initial license and advanced credentialing will be kept in the perennial posture of being advisory to those with the legal power. However, as was mentioned earlier, there is growing recognition that classroom teachers, especially, must be more directly involved in the entire complex of professional governance activities.

A number of state departments of education are diligently searching for ways of involving the practitioner, but there is still very little inclination for either state departments or preparing institutions to accept the idea of professional legal boards having such authority as

would be logically consistent with establishing practitioner accountability. One result is that many teachers are not merely upset with what often passes for in-service education, they are indignant. In some cases they are about ready to declare a moratorium on being subjected to any more of what they consider irrelevant requirements and regulations over which they have no control. This in no way denies their needing help from colleges and others. It is how this help is applied that is the problem.

Indeed, teachers are the victims of paternalism at the very time education is in need of reform. However, reform is likely to be seen as threatening rather than liberating if policies are superimposed. This probably accounts for the expanding dimensions of many negotiated teacher-board contracts to include items dealing with in-service education. In curriculum development and professional governance, it is now becoming clear that the teaching profession must necessarily design its own establishment if it is ever to become mature and in a position of parity with external forces.

Educational-Professional Establishment

But for rare exceptions, state departments of education and preparing institutions still see themselves as being required to deal exclusively with the educational establishment and not at all with the rapidly developing professional establishment. This attitude is bound to cause further polarization unless ameliorative activities are instituted. That teachers feel put upon must be recognized and dealt with lest opportunities for reform be lost.⁷

Earlier, the term "professional establishment" was used in juxtaposition with "educational establishment." This was done to emphasize the fact that teachers have largely given up expecting their interests to be entirely served through the educational establishment. In fact, basic role conflict between the two establishments is clearly more evident.

The educational establishment deals with the creation, maintenance, and survival of institutions, and these involve determining public policy, erecting an administrative structure, and generating public support of the system. The ultimate goal is survival. The professional establishment, however, is more concerned with sustaining the tenets of the teaching and learning process. Such a concern is sometimes the antithesis of conserving institutions. The conflict is often difficult to deal with, but such is the nature of a free and open society. To educate is to undermine the status quo.

In short, then, those who are responsible for managing

institutions — that is, the educational establishment — and those responsible for teaching — that is, the professional establishment — in a sense have built-in conflict roles which can produce progress, provided each establishment deals with the other productively and intelligently as they carry out their respective functions. This is one of the perpetual paradoxical dilemmas of a free society. Surely, to understand the paradox is prerequisite to serving the public interest. This dilemma will not go away if we remain a free society. Conversely, it will grow stronger the freer we become. Role conflict need not deteriorate into an adversary context, especially if there is major goal agreement on maintaining a free society.⁸

What continues to baffle public school teachers is the obvious distrust implicit in excluding them from parity in matters of professional governance; and this has complications far beyond legal rights and responsibilities. Teachers also perceive that many practitioners in higher education, state departments of education, and accrediting agencies don't seem to understand their plight. Teachers claim to be hearing the same clichés and paternalistic pap emanating from some of these sources as they heard from many boards of education prior to the advent of collective bargaining. For example, teachers are admonished that professional behavior does not have to depend on legal sanctions or rights. But who doesn't know this? The issue goes much deeper. If legal rights are so irrelevant, why not give them to teachers?

Accountability Demanded

Surely the time is ripe for a thorough study of the sociology of the teaching profession. It is paradoxical that many of those who are quickest to condemn the teaching profession for becoming a craft are the very ones who would deprive the profession of the right of self-governance and thus the opportunity to be justly accountable for competent and ethical teaching.

The present demand for accountability may turn out to be a blessing. Modern parents are wise in the ways of child development and learning; they are beginning to demand more and more sophistication of teachers. Such demands will surely pressure the teaching profession toward more vigorous involvement and search for ways of being more responsible.

Moreover, the younger people preparing to teach are a new breed. If anyone doubts the rebirth of altruism, just listen to the young people. All across the nation a new mood is evolving. Professionals are being

forced to turn toward social change. They are being pressed to assume new and more sophisticated roles in society. The consumer is demanding change. People are placing greater importance on performance, less on courses, credits, and degrees as ends in themselves. There is a growing disdain for all credentials, primarily because they have so often been misused, or, especially in recent times, have had little relevance to professional needs. There is a greater feeling of vested interest, and not merely one which is narrowly conceived. Such vested interests are critically oriented and sometimes driven by great compassion.

It would be naive to believe that the teaching profession will have an easy time acquiring the status and posture whereby it can be accountable. A whole fabric must be dealt with. First, as stated earlier, those segments of the profession possessing power have little inclination to share it within the profession. They feel it is theirs. Others view teachers as being overly militant and therefore not ready for greater involvement in professional governance. But even with all the obstacles, real and imagined, the teaching profession is systematically moving toward creating the self-governance machinery and processes necessary for their being accountable. This will happen because there are those in all segments of the profession who know that teaching must become a professional entity, one responsive to both the public welfare and the individual practitioner.

¹Don Davies, "The Relevance of Accountability," *Journal of Teacher Education*, Spring, 1970, p. 133.

²Helen Bain, "Self-Governance Must Come First, Then Accountability," *Phi Delta Kappan*, April, 1970, p. 413.

³Margaret Lindsay (ed.), *New Horizons for the Teaching Profession*. Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association, 1961, p. 24.

⁴T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association, 1970, pp. 43-44.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

⁶NEA Research Division, *Teacher Opinion Polls*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1969.

⁷For documentation, see "Some Inhibitors to Professionalization as Reported by Teachers" in *Negotiating for Professionalization*. Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association, 1970, pp. 66-70.

⁸"The Context and Purpose of Professional Self-Determination," a working paper. Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association, 1970, p. 7.

Critique by R. E. Lawrence

From the point of view of the National Education Association and its National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, as elaborated by David Darland, the teaching profession's quest for responsibility and accountability appears to be first and foremost a quest for the legal authority and structures which are seen as necessary to exercise control over the standards of preparation, the qualifications for entry into and continuation in the profession, and the purposes and content of continuing education for teachers. Legal authorization for professional self-governance, it is argued, is the *sine qua non* for accepting responsibility and accountability in teaching.

The promoters of this argument, who are well and thoughtfully represented by David Darland, are careful to point out that they distinguish between the profession as an entity which includes the wide range of personnel involved in schooling as we presently know it and the profession as it may be represented in a more limited fashion by the NEA, the Association of Classroom Teachers, the American Federation of Teachers, or any other single organization. It is to their credit that professional self-governance advocates recognize the importance of this distinction and the difficulties of moving from a system of control by one or more of the latter groups to a system of control and involvement which will be fairly representative of the profession as an inclusive entity. Unfortunately, there is little current evidence to suggest that this enlightened distinction is either comprehended or accepted by teachers and others who are involved in the day-to-day political struggles in schools and colleges across the country. Rather it seems that the issue of which subgroup shall control any specific situation under contention is a more vital matter than is the fundamental issue of how the various parts of the "profession" can work together more effectively to achieve the changes which are needed to make deliberate education relevant and viable. Perhaps the leadership of the NEA truly sees the problem of quality in education as the most important matter to be dealt with immediately, but under the present circumstances a bit of skepticism regarding such a conclusion would seem to be in order.

Darland observes that "the legal right for local organizations of teachers to bargain collectively with school boards is one aspect of [professional] governance." There appears to be no reason to believe

that the battles among groups for the right to represent teachers in negotiating what are primarily teacher welfare benefits will result in any closer identification of these competing groups with the profession as a single entity. The outcomes are likely to be quite the contrary. Unless one concedes that some single, identifiable group, e.g., classroom teachers, can become in the final analysis the spokesman for the true "profession," one can only conclude that the development of teaching as a professional entity is a long way off. Further, I find it difficult to accept the notion that these struggles will result in the development of a "professional establishment" whose ultimate goal will be distinguishable from the goal of survival and protection of the status quo which is attributed by Darland to the present "educational establishment." Unfortunately, the results are likely to be just the opposite.

In my view, one of the greatest dangers of the proposed legalization of professional governance in teaching at this time is that the structures created will tend to rigidify the substance as well as the forms of schooling and make it even more difficult than it now is to achieve the changes which are needed in education. This would seem to be especially true because of the very way in which we "professionals" currently conceptualize "education." In general, we tend to think of education as limited to schooling and classroom teaching. The "profession" which Darland's proposal seeks to legalize consists primarily, if not exclusively, of people who view education as schooling because that is where they live and work. In these times of rapid change and increasing demands for new and better ways for dealing with the human condition, such a narrow, and narrowing, view of education and learning seems especially inappropriate.

It should be noted that the advocates of professional self-governance in teaching usually are careful to point out that they also distinguish between control of the profession (which they seek) and control of education (which they believe should remain in the hands of the broader society). Although Darland's statement makes only passing reference to this distinction, I think it is fair to assume that he believes the control of the profession can and should be separated from the control of education. Just how the assessment and accountability of teachers who are the principal means of deliberate education as we now know it are to be considered separately from the ends or purposes of education established by society remains unclear. The evidence of experience suggests that means tend to determine ends in education as in other human endeavors.

In recent years it has been convincingly argued by a number of critics of the public schools that at least part of the problem of

education stems from the very fact that communities are effectively blocked from influencing the purposes and directions of schooling by the educational establishment. I would hope that our strategies and proposals as professionals will take into account the tenet that in a democratic society the purposes and philosophic orientation of the public schools must remain under the control of the society that supports the schools. This must continue to be the case regardless of how much we professionals might wish it were otherwise, even on occasion. The fact that the societal or community control of schools has already been eroded to a dangerous extent should lead us to question seriously either the possibility or the probability that the teaching profession can successfully separate control of the profession from control of education.

The present state of affairs with respect to the professionalization of teaching would seem to present us with at least two opposing options. On the one hand, we could, in line with the arguments of Darland and the NEA, work for the legalization of professional matters in the hope that a professional entity will develop from this achievement. Action along these lines would also presuppose that the resulting structures could and would be designed to maintain the necessary separation of controls discussed above. On the other hand, we could redouble our efforts to act like professionals in order to earn through demonstrated competence and concern the professional status and identity we seek. This latter course would build on the realization that much "authority" in our society is earned through action rather than granted through legal forms.

My preference for the latter option, even given the remote possibility that "teachers" of all kinds might be mobilized into a "professional establishment" which recognizes the limits of its authority and power to control education, follows from my inability to accept a number of additional assumptions upon which the NEA's proposal appears to rest.

First is the assumption that most people will improve themselves, will learn, will become better at what they are doing *only* if they are forced to, preferably with legal requirements. Behind this assumption is the notion that people generally will act at their lowest level of competence under any circumstances other than those in which they are forced to do otherwise. This negative view of human behavior which is so prevalent in our society may be the very thing that makes deliberate education so ineffective generally.

Second is the assumption that the legal authorizations and controls outlined by Darland are necessary to make responsibility and accounta-

bility in teaching acceptable and accepted aspects of the teacher's job. To put it another way, Darland's position assumes that the aspiring professional in teaching is prevented from behaving as he should or would by the fact that he lacks legal control over others in his occupational group who may not be inclined toward his definition of professional competence and ethics. Under professional self-governance, it is argued, teachers would have the opportunity to be heard and judged by their peers — by those who have some expertise in the processes of teaching. But such opportunity does not need to be created by legal action except in extreme cases. As a group, we teachers have failed to face up to our own problems or to use our opportunities in this area of concern. No legal authorization is necessary for us as individuals to assess our own work or to ask others to help us do so. In addition, I believe it is questionable to suggest that present regulations having to do with licensing, accreditation, continuing education, and the like are substantially anything other than the desires of "professionals" made legitimate by lay boards of education. Further, I do not believe it is true to suggest that "professionals" have no control over who enters the profession at the present time. This claim becomes especially questionable if one interprets "entering" in broader terms than those which refer only to the point at which initial service begins. How much have "professional" teachers done to support and facilitate the continuing development of neophyte teachers? To what extent is it not true that experienced teachers are the major factor in the socialization of new teachers into a system which in large part de-emphasizes innovations designed to improve the quality of deliberate education?

Darland anticipates these criticisms of the proposal for self-governance. "Teachers are admonished that professional behavior does not have to depend on legal sanctions or rights. But," he adds, "who doesn't know this? The issue goes much deeper. If legal rights are so irrelevant, why not give them to teachers?"

I agree. This issue goes much deeper indeed. To use an extreme but, I think, apt analogy, it hinges on the question of whether the culprit should be provided with a dangerous weapon.

Finally, I believe there is another potentially negative outcome of any all-out effort to achieve legal professional self-governance at this time. The kind of activities in which the "profession" will need to engage in order to accomplish legalization will tend to place an even greater concentration of effort on the *forms* of professionalism than is presently true. This will serve to diminish the attention given to the *substantive changes* which could make the "profession" more effective.

Once we have the forms clearly tied down and under our control, we won't need to worry about the substance any more. On the very face of things, we will be professionals — because the law says we are. In the process of achieving this glorified status, we will spend so much time fighting for our rights that we will tend to overlook our responsibilities or only give them our half-hearted attention, because we are so worn out from our battles.

In the final analysis, the proposed battle for establishing legal control of the profession by the profession through state legislative action seems to me to be a cop-out — a strategy for avoiding the hard work and difficult attitudinal changes which are essential to the establishment of a real profession. Such a strategy might appropriately be entitled: "How to Become a Profession Without Really Trying."

Movements Toward Teacher Autonomy in Canada

By J. M. Paton

The accelerated trend to upward mobility and equalitarianism in today's society is gradually eliminating many of the old distinctions between the worker and the professional. Moreover, the professional role in collecting and interpreting sophisticated data is being usurped by the technician and his electrical machines. It may well be that in future the one reliable mark of the full professional will be his ability to make wise decisions in those areas of human behavior and social well-being that possess an instability which the technologist cannot evaluate nor the computer control.

Choices or decisions of this sort confront the surgeon, the internist, the psychiatrist, the lawyer, the senior social worker every day. They demand — besides the special knowledge and expertise required by many occupations — an intelligent awareness of the complexities of the individual psyche and of the human condition which only a lengthy humanistic education is likely to generate. If teachers are to win real professional status, it will be as a result of demonstrating the capacity to make decisions of vital importance to individuals and to society, in a context of uncertainty which requires a combination of specialized preparation and liberal education beyond the layman's ken.

It is for reasons such as these that society has been willing to delegate to professional associations the power to admit, certificate, and discipline their own practitioners. As Whitehead pointed out more than 35 years ago, the general community is not competent to determine who shall be permitted to enter and to continue in a profession, and on what grounds they should be expelled. "There can be only one appeal," he said, "and that is to general professional opinion as exhibited in the practice of accredited institutions."¹

This degree of self-government, however, has not been granted to public professions such as teaching. In consequence, we find in most countries of the world rival associations of teachers competing for the

same membership dollar, and at the same time demanding "professional" recognition by public authorities and laymen. About 15 years ago, Myron Lieberman posited five criteria for professionalizing education in America, the key one in my view being "a strong professional organization that represents the entire profession."²

This condition Canadian teachers now meet, and in that respect they may be unique among their colleagues throughout the world. The process of obtaining statutory, automatic, and "all-in" membership began in the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta in the mid-Thirties, was extended to most provinces by 1950, and finally included the French-Catholic teachers of Quebec in 1960. The full story, summarized in the *Kappan* in 1968, has been told elsewhere.³ Its significance for this article is that, largely because of their having one strong institutional voice in every province — supported as need arises by their national body, the Canadian Teachers' Federation — the teachers of Canada have made, and are making, much more progress toward the goal of a fully autonomous profession than would have been possible otherwise, given their special problems of smallish numbers, population distribution, and communications. Nationalistic bias prompts a less modest claim: that this progress to date, and its potential for the future, is greater than can be detected among organized teachers elsewhere.

In accordance with my stipulation about the essence of professionalism, I shall draw illustrations of Canadian progress toward self-determination from the two areas of corporate decision making and of individual decision making; and I shall conclude with a brief discussion of difficulties still to be overcome.

I. CORPORATE ACTION

Professional Conduct

It is no secret that the civil authorities in the various Canadian provinces agreed to give their teachers statutory membership privileges, despite initial misgivings, chiefly because they felt the profession would do a better job of policing itself — that is, of enforcing a code of ethics and getting rid of undesirables — than they had done, or were ever likely to do, because of susceptibility to political pressures. Their hopes in this respect seem to have been fulfilled, although it must be admitted that teacher groups have not yet convinced the public of their ability to eliminate all the seriously incompetent. Fair-minded critics will

concede, however, that malpractice in medicine or law is much easier to prove than in teaching, where hard evidence is usually lacking.

But there is forward movement in this difficult and sensitive area. For several years the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation has operated quite elaborate machinery by which the federation grants "documents of approval" to all members in good standing, which can of course be suspended or withdrawn when incompetence is suspected or established following full investigation. School boards are now in the habit of requiring evidence of possession of this document, in addition to the provincial certificate, before engaging an experienced teacher. A committee of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation has just recommended, after a year's study, a procedure by which the BCTF would assume similar responsibilities for weeding out incompetents. The proposals are to be further examined by the membership in the hope that they may be operative in the school year 1971-72. The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation has recently placed before the provincial government a plan for controlling teacher competence; and other provincial groups of teachers are considering whether or not they should strengthen the work of their standing committees on ethics and discipline by following the lead of these three federations.

Licensing and Certificating

Nine of the 10 provinces now have teacher education and certification boards which in various ways give the important interest groups in education, including teachers, control over standards of preparation for and admission to the profession. By the same token, the teachers' federation is officially represented on any commission or committee which is likely to propose changes in the operation of the schools. At the informal level there is usually a constant flow of communication between government education offices and the permanent officials and elected officers of the teachers, so that the profession's views are seldom overlooked in the preparation of departmental recommendations and decisions.

The key issue here, of course, is the degree of control which organized teachers will be allowed to exercise over admission to their ranks and over permanent certification. The recognized professions have had complete authority in this respect for a long time, subject only rarely to political checks in the public interest. There is no logical reason why Canadian teachers, with their single institutional voice in each province, cannot devise acceptable ways of determining who their members will be, as lawyers and doctors are permitted to do. Over the

past 10 years, concrete proposals have been made, and some action taken, to resolve the dilemma of extending licensing power to professionals who are paid directly from the public purse.

For example, the Canadian Conference on Education in 1962 endorsed a recommendation to the effect that organized teachers should have a measure of control over admissions, certification, and curriculum; it further suggested that, while the state should continue to issue the basic license to teach, the teachers' professional organizations ought to be able to award some credentials of their own which would distinguish the full professional from the subprofessional.⁴ Detailed suggestions in this context were put forward some years later and have continued to be seriously considered.⁵ Ontario's much-publicized and progressive Hall-Dennis Report (1968) endorsed these ideas, and has a series of recommendations whose aim is clearly to make the province's teachers completely self-governing, with adequate licensing power.⁶

Alberta teachers meanwhile are hoping to reach the same objective by a different route. They have placed before the public the proposal that the Minister of Education contract with the Alberta Teachers' Association to serve as his certifying agent in much the same way as he now contracts with the province's universities to offer courses in teacher education. An intermediate step in the same direction has been taken by several teacher associations which have made quite expensive arrangements for evaluating their members' qualifications for purposes of placement on salary schedules. These schedules normally have from four to eight categories, depending on academic and professional qualifications which require careful assessment as to the quality of the university courses taken. In British Columbia the BCTF is currently examining the implications of an unofficial (as yet) suggestion that provincial authorities issue only a teaching license, leaving the teachers and the trustees to make the certification distinctions they deem to be necessary.

Professional Development

A material advantage of automatic membership with what trade unions would call check-off privileges is that the time and money once spent on membership campaigns can be devoted to constructive activities. All provincial groups have special budgets for promoting not only the professional development of their members but educational reform in general. Many of them assign a permanent official full-time, supported by a committee of members and a special budget, to supervise a continuing program. A major activity in most provinces is

sponsorship of subject specialist councils, each with its own professional journal and affiliation with the corresponding national body. The Alberta Teachers' Association has possibly expanded this kind of activity further than other groups, and in consequence has built a printing and publishing business of major proportions.

Direct teacher involvement in curriculum planning from pre-school to senior high school levels, however, is by all odds the single most important factor in winning full professional recognition. Through their own committees and by appointments to study groups of the provincial department, the teachers' voice is undoubtedly heard and is influential. But too often, as one spokesman remarked to me recently, the teacher associations prefer to react to the proposals of others instead of taking the lead in educational innovation.

One example of the better way was the appointment two years ago by the British Columbia Teachers' Federation of a provincial Commission on Education, which has just published its report entitled "Involvement: The Key to Better Schools." This is a forward-looking document advocating open and flexible approaches to teaching and learning in British Columbia, much in the spirit of the Hall-Dennis Report already mentioned. The significant difference is that the latter was sponsored by the Ontario Department of Education, not by organized teachers. A second example is the Manitoba Teachers' Society study of a split-trimester system for the province's high schools, and an accompanying recommendation for an organization of the school year for pupils of all ages which would have classes operating for all 12 months.

II. INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVES

Policy Decisions

It has long been said of classroom teachers, when contrasting them with other professionals, that they are prone to leave the hard decisions to others who will accept the responsibility and the criticism; that is, to the administrators, the school trustees, the provincial officials who publish courses of study, and to outside examination boards. Although evidence here is sparse and not too conclusive, I think that progress is again being made, which may in part be due to the united front which Canadian teachers can present.

In 1969 an Ontario Teachers' Federation survey of membership opinion on certain recommendations in the Hall-Dennis Report found

that 94% of the sample either "strongly agreed" (58%) or "agreed" (36%) that "teachers should be active agents in planning and developing improvements in education through the expression of professional competence and autonomy in the school, and through active involvement in policy making as members of school staffs and professional bodies." To a question about teachers having "a maximum of professional autonomy" in developing curricula "geared to the needs and interests of their students and the community," the favorable response was 92%, with 57% feeling strongly on the subject. The significant thing is that a considerable proportion of elementary school teachers are currently experimenting with open education strategies, and that the Ontario Department of Education curriculum guide for high schools now includes with its outline of a modified traditional program an alternate scheme entitled "A Proposal for Change" which invites individual school staffs to introduce new student-oriented courses supported by a flexible credit and diploma system. The number who are choosing the second alternative is not precisely known but is encouraging.

Responsibility for Evaluation

A characteristic feature of Canadian education for many years has been provincial prescription of courses and examination standards at crucial stages in a student's progress, but especially for purposes of admission to universities, colleges, and selective occupations. A national survey a year ago concluded that the trend is away from provincewide examinations and commented: "In several provinces individual schools are being given more responsibility for evaluating their pupils."⁷

Three years ago the province of Ontario cut the Gordian knot of the evaluation dilemma by abolishing its once revered Grade 13 examinations, thus compelling high school teachers to justify their own standards to universities and employers. This was followed by the uncompromising position taken in the Hall-Dennis Report that the schools should adopt a philosophy of continuous progress, with the abolition of competitive tests and the use of individual student records of character and achievement. Another straw in the wind of change is the policy recently announced by the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union favoring evaluation of pupils on a continuous basis, school by school, instead of by provincial tests, and recording its opposition to provincial prescription of textbooks.

Faculty Councils

One of the many progressive recommendations of the Parent Commission on Education in the province of Quebec has led to the formation of educational policies committees at school board district level, and of school councils in individual schools, for the purpose of involving teachers (sometimes parents and taxpayers) in the formation of policy at every stage. In other provinces, and especially in Ontario if my observations are correct, the trend toward radical alterations in the power structure of school administration is even more marked than in Quebec. Top administrators in the country are beginning to insist that the traditional master-servant or leader-follower model of relationships between principal or superintendent and the classroom teacher must be replaced by a non-hierarchical model which objectifies the principle of "first among equals."

For instance, the 1969 annual convention of the Canadian Education Association, attended in the main by senior administrators in the nation's schools, invited several speakers to examine this question. A superintendent of schools in Calgary told the meeting that collegiality is gaining acceptance as an operative principle in relationships among professionals, but warned that the transfer of authority from school board or superintendent to the school principal stops short of realizing this principle "unless the authority is shared with the teachers."⁸ The executive secretary of the Alberta Teachers' Association bluntly announced that teacher militancy was increasing in Canada, that teachers resented the effects upon their work of decisions which they had not helped to make, and that conflict between bureaucracy and professionalism in the schools can only be resolved by providing more scope for the exercise of the teacher's knowledge and experience. "They want a colleague relationship with their organizational superiors — a collegial form of school operation," he concluded.⁹

It seems clear that, in Canada as elsewhere, rule making in the behavioral area, and policy making in most other concerns of the school, will more and more be the concern of committees of staff and students where individual teachers can wield great influence, rather than of administrative personnel alone, or of an authority outside the school. In the words of the Hall-Dennis Report: "The modern curriculum demands that curriculum control be centered in the classroom.... Until teachers have a large measure of autonomy and a share in policy making, the modern curriculum cannot become a reality."¹⁰

III. UNRESOLVED PROBLEMS

The note of optimism so far sounded concerning progress being made in Canada toward professional autonomy should now be modified by referring to impediments which must be removed or circumvented if improvements are to continue. The space limits of this chapter allow me merely to identify three areas of concern.

The Public Interest

Although teachers in all 10 provinces have by statute many of the exclusive rights and powers enjoyed by the private professions, they still employ the pressure tactics of the trade union movement much more frequently than their counterparts in the private sector. At the present writing, for instance (May, 1970), Ontario secondary teachers are using the threat of mass resignation and delaying the engagement of teachers for the next school year, in order to compel school boards to agree that pupil-teacher ratios are fully negotiable. The difficulty is that the points at issue are technical and beyond the clear understanding of the lay public and of some teachers.

Everyone is likely to agree that the judgment of teachers ought to carry great weight on such problems as the conditions essential to quality teaching; but when some of these conditions involve immediate demands on the public purse, it is surely the part of wisdom for the negotiating professional to rely on the power that rests upon rational persuasion rather than on force and coercion.

Generalist or Specialist?

The trend to specialization and to the use of sub-professionals and technicians in schools is probably irreversible. It is welcomed by teachers as likely to accelerate their acceptance as professional experts; and certainly the concept of the teacher as member of an omniscient teaching-learning team offers more hope for improved schooling in the near future than the traditional myth of the omniscient classroom teacher.¹¹

However, just as specialization in medicine has created a vacuum of human need which can be filled only by a new concept of the general practitioner, schools will continue to require teachers who think of the totality of persons before subjects and machines. By the same token, the democratic authority structure of the new school community

referred to earlier cannot be maintained unless many of the new professional teachers are willing to devote time, thought, and acquired expertise to its operation. This will involve learning how to work with colleagues and students at the frequently tedious and very complex task of administering a large school by democratic consensus.

How Much Freedom?

At the beginning of this paper the assumption was made that teachers would not become professionals in reality until they individually accepted responsibility for making vital decisions in education. On the other hand, a society which is becoming more and more collectivist, more sophisticated, and more conscious of the tax cost of the good life for everyone is not as disposed as it once was to rely upon the unchallenged judgment of the professional provider of essential services, be he medical man, lawyer, or teacher. There will be more and more encroachments by representatives of the public upon the individual liberties of the experts. New dimensions of liberty and freedom, of responsibility and accountability, will have to be explored. In the meantime, let us remember some words of that ever-relevant champion of civil liberty, John Stuart Mill. They conclude his classic essay *On Liberty*:

A State which draws its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands, even for beneficial purposes, will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished; and that the perfection of machinery to which it has sacrificed everything will in the end avail it nothing, for want of the vital power which, in order that the machine might run more smoothly, it has preferred to banish.

¹A. N. Whitehead, *Adventures of Ideas*. New York: Penguin Books, 1942, pp. 78, 79.

²V. G. Jeffers, "Teaching as a Profession," *The National Elementary Principal*, April, 1968, pp. 26-31.

³J. M. Paton, *The Role of Teachers' Organizations in Canadian Education*. Toronto: W. J. Gage, 1962; also, *Phi Delta Kappan*, June, 1968, pp. 563-66.

⁴Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 22, 82.

⁵J. M. Paton, *Current Thinking on Teacher Education (Education S/A)*. Toronto: W. J. Gage, 1966, pp. 29-35.

⁶Hall, Dennis, et al., *Living and Learning. The Report of the Provincial*

Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario.
Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1968, pp. 138, 140, 192.

7 "Provincial Examinations," *Education Canada*. Toronto: The Canadian Education Association, June, 1969, pp. 37-47.

8 Robert Warren, "Innovations in Canadian Education," Proceedings of the 46th Conference of the Canadian Education Association, September, 1969, pp. 69-75.

9 B. T. Keeler, "The New Teacher," *ibid.*, pp. 20-25.

10 Hall, Dennis, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

11 John Macdonald, *The Discernible Teacher*, three essays in typescript.
Ottawa: The Canadian Teachers' Federation, 1968.

Critique by S. C. T. Clarke

Paton makes the point in "Movements Toward Teacher Autonomy in Canada" that the essence of professionalism is the ability to make wise decisions in unstable areas of human affairs. In these circumstances progress toward professionalism would be marked by a lengthy humanistic education and the power to ensure competent performance by controlling admission to the profession and ejection from it. He rightly notes that Canadian teachers generally speak with one voice. They generally have one organization representing them and probably largely as a result of this have a measure of control over professional conduct, competence, or malpractice. They have moved forward in professional development and have an increasing voice in decisions about evaluation and curriculum. Paton's analysis of the Canadian scene is accurate, and cannot be faulted as far as it goes. The following comments extend his analysis.

A Teaching Profession Act

As Darland notes in "The Profession's Quest for Responsibility and Accountability," proper governance of the teaching profession requires a teaching profession act.

Paton informs us that each Canadian province, starting with Saskatchewan and Alberta in the mid-Thirties, enacted a teaching profession act. The institution of such legislation solves a number of professional problems. The *jurisdictional* problem is solved by the law requiring all teachers to be members of one, and only one, organization. The *membership* problem and the problem of support are simultaneously solved. There is no need for membership arrears, since all teachers are required to pay the fee established by the group. The problem of *discipline* can be delegated by government to the professional association, since all practicing teachers are required by law to be members. A formidable difficulty still remains: How can an organization designed to protect its members also accuse, try, and punish them? The problem of *governance of the profession* is solved by a teaching profession act establishing the legal framework for the machinery of government, somewhat analogous to a constitution.

There is no doubt, as Paton states, that a teaching profession act can

solve the problems of jurisdiction, membership, support, discipline, and governance of the profession. The experience of Canadian teachers, dating back to 1934, bears this out. The classical features of professionalism are promoted by such an act. As Paton summarized them, they are a lengthy humanistic education and the power to ensure competent performance in the general area of unstable (non-routinized) human affairs.

Economic Welfare

In addition to the classical features of professionalism, any occupational group which is or aspires to be a profession must secure adequate remuneration for its members. This is the most rapidly changing aspect of professionalism. Discussion of this aspect used to be muted or completely omitted. At one time it was thought that a mark of a profession was that the form of its remuneration was by fee (as opposed to salary or profit). Canadian experience with medicare, paralleled by experiences in other countries, indicates that such clearcut distinctions, if they ever existed, are being blurred for the medical profession. In 1962 doctors in Saskatchewan went on strike to oppose medicare, and in 1970 the specialists in Quebec threatened similar action. As these professionals see it, the amount and form of remuneration is a vital matter. With medicare, fees as the form of remuneration had to be replaced by schedules, and the amount was a matter in which government had considerable say. The experience of the medical profession enables us to see more clearly that the professions must adapt to a changing society in which self-employment is being replaced by employee status.

Canadian teachers, in their drive for professional autonomy, have long recognized that the amount and form of remuneration is an essential feature of a profession. In all Canadian provinces, teachers bargain collectively with school boards, with combinations of school boards, or with the provincial government for salaries and working conditions. The frank recognition of the importance of adequate remuneration and of machinery which will insure it for employees has been an essential part of the drive by Canadian teachers for professional autonomy.

It is in this area that the gut problems of professionalism lie. Shall teachers strike? What are the hierarchical boundaries of the bargaining unit: Are the principal, the assistant superintendent, the superintendent part of the unit? What are the occupational boundaries: Are teacher aides to be included? What is covered by the collective agreement:

salary only; salary and working conditions such as class size and instructional materials; you name it? Canadian teachers have struggled with these problems for three decades and are still struggling.

Financing Education

The experience of Canadian teachers with some 30 years of collective bargaining has demonstrated that, as a tool, it has not solved the problems of remuneration nor of working conditions. It has kept them from losing ground, and has strengthened their teacher organizations. Perhaps the real issue in professional autonomy for the future is the amount of the gross national product which is to be devoted to the sector represented by the profession. In education it might be expected that school boards would speak up for adequate financing. While some do, it is not a clear nor a loud voice, because many are elected on an economy platform and find more voter support from championing parsimony. The governments which must increasingly apportion funds according to social needs expect social pressures. One organized and vitally interested group is the teaching profession. Hence, a real task of the teaching profession in the future will be to speak and work for adequate public support for education.

The experience of Canadian teachers indicates what can be done. Studies of educational finance and attempts to forecast needed expenditures in the future have been made on both the provincial and national scale. Conferences, with attendant publicity, on the need for revenue, its sources, and its distribution, have been held nationally and in many provinces. Teachers' organizations have submitted briefs to government at all levels, and have been represented on government committees appointed to study the financing of education. Such activities have increased public acceptance of the fact that the teaching profession stands for adequate public support for education.

Summary

Paton rightly contends that the essence of professionalism is competent service, and describes how Canadian teachers in the various provinces have moved toward professional autonomy based on teaching profession acts. A teaching profession act can solve the problems of jurisdiction, membership, support, discipline, and governance of the profession. These classical features of professional autonomy are historically sound. As one looks ahead (and this is a more chancy business), one recognizes that an emerging problem facing many

professions (and likely in the end to face them all) is that of adequate remuneration. Thirty years' experience has convinced Canadian teachers that collective bargaining has been a most useful tool in securing improved remuneration. But it doesn't solve all the problems. Remaining are the size and constitution of the bargaining unit and the range of matters subject to collective bargaining. Above and beyond the procedure used to determine salaries and working conditions is the financial support for all education. They are obviously connected. The latest and perhaps the most important task in the drive for professional autonomy is for the teaching profession to speak for adequate public support of education.

About the Authors

T. M. Stinnett was for many years assistant executive secretary of the National Education Association, in charge of the Office of Professional Development and Welfare. He is now visiting professor, Texas A & M University.

Dwight W. Allen is dean of the School of Education, University of Massachusetts. He is currently chairman of the Commission on Education for the Teaching Profession, National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges.

Glenn W. Hawkes is assistant professor of education at the University of Massachusetts.

James C. Stone is professor of education at the University of California, Berkeley.

Madeline Hunter is principal of the University Elementary School, University of California, Los Angeles.

Margaret Lindsey is professor of education, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Alvin P. Lierheimer is assistant commissioner for higher education, State Department of Education, Albany, New York.

Carl A. Larsen is chief of the Bureau of Teacher Education and Certification, State Department of Education, Sacramento, California.

Karl Massanari is associate director of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, Washington, D.C.

William H. Drummond is associate for teacher education, State Department of Public Instruction, Olympia, Washington.

Lindley J. Stiles is professor of education at Northwestern University.

James L. Olivero is executive director of the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

J. Alden Vanderpool is teacher education executive for the California Teachers Association, Burlingame, California.

D. D. Darland is associate executive secretary for the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards and editor of the *Journal of Teacher Education*.

R. E. Lawrence is dean of the College of Education, University of New Mexico.

J. M. Paton is professor of educational history and philosophy in the College of Education, University of Toronto, Canada.

S. C. T. Clarke is professor of educational psychology at the University of Alberta, Canada.